Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-068
Friday
8 April 1994

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FBIS-EEU-94-068 *8 April 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

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Berov Comments on Zhelev Criticism of Cabinet

AU0704134694 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 13 4 Apr 94 pp 1, 22

[Telephone interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Zoya Dimitrova in Sofia on 1 April: "Even the President Has a Right to His Personal Opinion"]

[Text] The prime minister gave 168 CHASA his first interview following his operation, speaking over the telephone from the government hospital in Sofia. He said he was not surprised by the leap in the dollar's exchange rate because a state cannot support negative balances of payments and trade indefinitely, and this is bound to have an effect on its national currency.

Professor Berov gave us this interview on Friday evening [1 April]. The next day, following Zhelev's self-serving performance on the Panorama television program, we telephoned the prime minister again. He said he does not intend to resign, and confirmed that he would be at work on Thursday [7 April]. He did not comment on the president's assessment of the government.

[Dimitrova] Professor Berov, this interview is being recorded. Do you have any objection?

[Berov] Naturally not. Go ahead with your questions.

[Dimitrova] How do you feel, Professor?

[Berov] Normal. I intend to return to work soon.

[Dimitrova] How soon is that?

[Berov] I cannot say because it depends on the doctors. I assume I will be at my desk on Thursday.

[Dimitrova] Your wife says you are walking 700 meters a day. Is that true?

[Berov] Yes, sometimes even further, but I have not yet reached Cherni Vrukh [peak of Mount Vitosha on outskirts of Sofia].

[Dimitrova] Did the leap in the dollar's exchange rate surprise you?

[Berov] What should I say? It was not a great surprise for me because we had negative balances of trade and payments, especially during the second half of last year. In the first quarter of 1994, we again had a negative balance, which as yet has not been taken into account, but there are some secondary figures that indicate, I would say, that the sickness is continuing. This is a sickness of the deficits in the balances of payments and trade, and one of the causes is the embargo.

Can a state maintain negative balances of payments and trade indefinitely without this affecting its national currency?

[Dimitrova] How do you react to the president's statement that this government is sick and to the possible soundings on forming a new government?

[Berov] How can I react? You know that initially the government in Bulgaria is appointed by parliament. In any case, anyone is entitled to express any viewpoint, and this is naturally a matter of his own personal opinion. The president has a right to a personal opinion.

[Dimitrova] Do you intend to make structural changes in the cabinet?

[Berov] Yes.

[Dimitrova] It is said that you will close down certain committees and replace them by ministries. Who will head the Ministry of Privatization?

[Berov] Yes, there will be such a ministry. Rumen Gechev will be the minister. I do not know if you have heard his name, but he is well known among economic circles. You know that the Constitution does not provide for any committees. So far, the committees have continued to exist by force of inertia. However, it is high time to dissolve them and allocate their functions to different ministries or elevate some of them to the level of ministries.

[Dimitrova] Which ministers will you let go, Prof. Berov?

[Berov] Oh, it is too early to say. First, I have no conclusive data showing that anyone is not doing his job properly.

[Dimitrova] I would like to ask you this—of course, you need not answer: Are you not sorry that you named as your deputy one of the deputy prime ministers and not the other, who is a more up-to-date politician—I am referring to Valentin Karabashev. Might he not have coped much better with the situation facing the country?

[Berov] Valentin Karabashev had some long trips abroad planned, and he is continuing these at the moment. I cannot appoint as my substitute a person who would be absent at least half the time.

[Dimitrova] Was this formal reason the only motive for your decision?

[Berov] It is an important, substantial reason. The person who stands in for me must be in the country. He cannot exercise his right to rule—it is not a right but a duty—from a distance of thousands of kilometers. You cannot play the game like this.

[Dimitrova] The 168 CHASA weekly forecasted that a possible caretaker government would develop into a "velvet dictatorship" cabinet. What is your view on the ambitions and statements of Dimitur Ludzhev, who has been using fascist phraseology in recent months?

[Berov] This is evidently a matter of personal ambitions. Regarding the fascist phraseology, the answer is clear. I believe that dictatorship is impossible in Bulgaria, I will tell you that straight. Even the most ambitious individual will not be able to pull it off. Next, I assume you are familiar with our Constitution and realize that it is

not necessarily the caretaker government that has to hold the elections. Look how Mitsotakis fell from power in neighboring Greece. Yet he was the very one who organized the elections in which he was defeated.

[Dimitrova] We have before our very eyes the histories of your neighbors Greece and Turkey. They passed through a form of military dictatorship that introduced law and order in these countries and stimulated their economies.

[Berov] Do you mean to say there is no law and order in our country now? If we have to introduce a military dictatorship to restore elementary order and legality, where are we going? I believe that we have to be optimists.

[Dimitrova] One last question: Can you go over to the window so we can take a photograph?

[Berov] I think you will have an opportunity for this on Thursday when I return to work at the session of the Council of Ministers. I do not think it is proper for someone to show themselves at the window.

[Dimitrova] Then I will not insist. Thank you for the interview.

[Berov] Have a nice evening.

Defense Minister Views Army Restructuring

AU0704200094 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 1 Apr 94 p 14

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov by Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "Valentin Aleksandrov: There Is One Officer or Sergeant to Each Soldier"]

[Excerpts] [Denov] Mr. Aleksandrov, for a long time now people have been talking about upcoming cuts in the Army. The new budget implies that this is inevitable. When will it take place?

[Aleksandrov] No one could doubt any longer the fact that with this budget we cannot have a 100,000-strong Army. Something must be done, although I by no means agree to the concept "cuts." What will actually happen is, first of all, retirements, and second, structural changes in the Army.

Since there is no more space in which to retreat, and since the new draft bill on defense has no chance of being adopted at second reading, I decided to apply the existing law. I do not want to leave a grave heritage to my successor.

According to the military service regulations colonels should retire at the age of 50, and lieutenant colonels at 45. These regulations are based on the 1958 Law on Universal Military Service, which was amended for the 11th time in 1979.

[Denov] What does it mean in numbers?

[Aleksandrov] According to the list a bit more than 3,000 officers will retire.

[Denov] Would the combat ability of the Army not suffer?

[Aleksandrov] This is a reasonable question. Since I had reports about a certain tension among the officers, I decided to investigate thoroughly the cadre issue in the Army. These are some of the generalized assessments of the officers who were polled: To reduce the inflated payrolls of the General Staff, the Ministry of Defense, the armies, and the divisions; to eliminate the unnecessary Ground Troops Command; to dismiss all officers with a service of more than 20 years.

What do the figures show? There is one officer or sergeant to each soldier in our Army! This is an incredible luxury, which only countries like the United States or the UK could afford. The ratio between soldiers and commanders in Turkey is 12:1; in Greece it is 8:1. Their combat ability has not suffered because of this; the opposite is true.

If the Air Force and the Navy require a larger number of officers and sergeants because of the higher degree of professionalism, a ratio like the existing one is inadmissible in the Ground Troops, which are the backbone of the Army.

A great part of the officers actually do not implement commanding functions. Some 24 percent of the officers serve in structures which do not deal with the management of the Army or in other departments.

Our Army is becoming dangerously old. The young officers are only 45 percent of the officer corps.

Our Army is full of clerks. The number of combat officers is five times smaller than the number of their colleagues in the staffs and officers. Those figures are shocking! [passage omitted]

[Denov] When will a final decision on the new personnel figures be adopted?

[Aleksandrov] As a minister I already adopted my decision. The government fully supports me. The supreme commander in chief has no remarks in principle. I have the impression that the political forces also approve. At the beginning of April my decision will be discussed by the Supreme Military Council. I also have the support of Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff. [passage omitted]

[Denov] Is it true that after the changes the Army personnel will be cut from 100,000 to 55,000?

[Aleksandrov] There is an opinion according to which with the budget the parliament adopted we can maintain only a 55,000-strong Army. This conclusion is based on the methodology of a UK institute. I issued an order to the General Staff according to which an analysis is made at present regarding precisely what Army could we maintain. However, in this case it is more important to decide whether we should have a smaller but combat-ready Army, or to leave a fantastic big number of people with questionable qualifications. Personally, I prefer the quality to the quantity. [passage omitted]

Defense Official on U.S. Visit, Turkish Troops

AU0704174894 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bulgarian Deputy Defense Minister Boyko Noev by Lieutenant Colonel Georgi Vuchev; place and date not given: "The United States Is Helping To Strengthen Bulgarian Defense"]

[Excerpts] [Vuchev] Mr. Noev, you headed a group from the Defense Ministry that spent more than one week on a working visit to the United States under the Bulgarian-U.S. military cooperation plan. What were the chief aims of this visit?

[Noev] I was accompanied on the U.S. trip by Krasimira Boneva, chief of the Information and Cultural Relations Department, and by Captain First Rank Tsvyatko Donchev, head of the Defense Ministry Press Service, and the visit was financed by the U.S. Information Agency. Our U.S. visit had two main aspects: to become acquainted with the practices used at the U.S. Department of Defense in the field of information and public relations, and also to have meetings with U.S. Defense Department officials. [passage omitted]

In the course of our discussions it was reaffirmed that the relations between the United States and Bulgaria in the military field are in complete conformity with the development of bilateral relations as a whole. I would even say that they are continuously improving and entering a qualitatively new stage. [passage omitted]

[Vuchev] During your meetings, was sufficient attention paid to the situation in our region and Europe?

[Noev] Naturally, we did cover these topics quite comprehensively. We confirmed that our practical positions coincided on all main issues. Of course, there were some nuances, such as in connection with the UN resolution on adding a military contingent from the Republic of Turkey to the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. In essence, this resolution was adopted during and following my meetings. However, even before it was made and especially after it was made public, we ensured that the U.S. side clearly understood that Bulgaria is far from enthusiastic about this decision. In fact, it has turned out that for the second time (the first was Resolution 730 on the sanctions], when an issue of strategic importance for the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was being decided, not only was Bulgaria's view not taken into account, but a decision was passed that conflicted with our fundamental interests. I wish to make it clear that we have nothing against any state taking part and appreciate the UN's difficulties in obtaining troops for Bosnia. However, at the same time we stressed that there is no change in our position of opposing the participation of the armed forces of states in the region, or of states that display an active interest in joining this specific operation.

During the roundtable meeting at the National Defense University it was mentioned that the main characteristics of the Bulgarian contribution to the international efforts to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis are the clarity, principled nature, and predictability of our conduct. We consider that our participation, as a permanent value in the complex equation of a future peace settlement, should considerably assist the efforts to solve the equation. However, when such a policy leads to disregard for Bulgaria's interests, we should evidently draw the appropriate conclusions. [passage omitted]

Neftokhim Signs Fuel Deal With FYROM

AU0804094894 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 5 Apr 94 p 1

[Staff report: "Neftokhim Concludes $5 Million Deal With Macedonia"]

[Text] During their visit to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], the chiefs of Neftokhim signed a contract on the sale of car gasoline, propane-butane, diesel, and reactive fuel to the tune of $5 million.

After Greece imposed its embargo Neftokhim remains the sole supplier of fuel to Macedonia.

BSP Ends 1993 With 4-Million-Leva Debt

AU0704134394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Apr 94 p 2

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] ended 1993 with unpaid debts of 4.289 million leva, it was announced following yesterday's meeting of the BSP Supreme Council, at which the Council passed the accountants' report on the party's finances and the balance sheet for 1993.

Income from party dues fell short of expectations by about the same amount, namely 4.770 million leva. According to [BSP leader] Zhan Videnov, the reasons for this were poor financial control and failures to submit proper accounts. The BSP chairman thinks the party must also seek ways to increase its income from economic activities.

The BSP had a balance of 2.039 million leva at the end of 1993. Its assets were valued at 25.972 million leva, after deducting the value of some of the party's buildings, its shareholdings in state companies, the BSP library stock, and other assets sequestered under the Party Property Confiscation Act. However, the balance sheet continues to record business inventory items and movable property that have not yet been confiscated or have been seized without any authorizing documents.

No accounts and balance sheets were submitted by the regional BSP councils in Blagoevgrad, Veliko Turnovo, Vratsa, Lovech, Kyustendil, and Turgovishte, and by certain oblast BSP councils.

In conformance with the law, the BSP will submit its accounts for 1993 to the Parliamentary Commission on Party Property.

Zhirinovskiy To Visit Bratislava 16-19 May

AU0804123094

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 April on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word Vladimir Jancura article entitled "Zhirinovskiy Will Visit Bratislava." According to the article, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] of Russia, "will pay a private visit to Bratislava from 16 to 19 May this year," at the invitation of Bratislava businessman Ladislav Mojzis, 37, owner of the West Club, a discotheque, cafe, and restaurant in the Koliba district of Bratislava. Mojzis, who claims to be "Zhirinovskiy's friend of long standing," tells the PRAVDA reporter that the visit "will have an exclusively private character" and that "our guest does not wish any contacts with political parties and mass media." The date of the visit was reportedly arranged by Dr. Jozef Lauko, another Bratislava resident and "friend of Zhirinovskiy," during the recent LDP congress in Moscow, where Lauko had been invited as "guest of honor." Mojzis claims that he had known Zhirinovskiy "long before he became involved on the political scene of the former USSR."

According to the PRAVDA reporter, Mojzis denies that he is a member of the Slovak National Party "or any other party." He also rejects the reporter's suspicion that the visit's main objective is to promote his business. Although Mojzis concedes that Zhirinovskiy will be staying in the West Club, he asserts that "we do not need any advertising."

Moravcik Contrasts New Cabinet With Meciar's

AU0704174394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Apr 94 p 12

["Excerpts" of interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by an unidentified SLOBODNY PIATOK correspondent; place and date not given: "Foundations of Long-Term Development; From an Interview on the Goals of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's Government"—reprinted from SLOBODNY PIATOK No. 13]

[Text] On what will you place further emphasis of continuity, SLOBODNY PIATOK No. 13 asked Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik. [sentence as published]

[Moravcik] On integration. We want to eliminate our lag within the framework of the Visegrad Four group, especially in the sphere of security systems, where we have been evidently assigned the last rank of late or even a place outside the group.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] What course do you intend to pursue in the economy?

[Moravcik] The previous government can be reproached for lack of concept. And, even when certain concepts were approved, poor emphasis was placed on their implementation. The government was improvising, more or less.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] Do you think that in the six months the interim government has at its disposal you will manage to be more consistent?

[Moravcik] We want to set a clear program and clear targets and implement them consistently. We realize that we will not be able to fulfill any major program in this brief period, but we want to lay the foundations for long-term development. We reckon that we have some chances of continuing after the elections.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] Does this mean that the time frame of your policy will be limited by the election date?

[Moravcik] No. We want to look further ahead, even though, after the elections, our policy might be represented by different people than today.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] In which regard would you not want to follow in the footsteps of the previous government?

[Moravcik] In its improvisation. Even though it is possible to resolve some burning problem by this method, the extinguishing of fire in one place, without precise targeting, can cause a fire elsewhere, which could lead society into a state of permanent conflict.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] How will the approach of Moravcik's government to privatization differ from that of Meciar's government?

[Moravcik] By the depoliticization of privatization.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] What guarantees do you offer that this depoliticization will be real?

[Moravcik] Control by parliament and more clarity of the privatization process. It is high time for the principle of professionalism to assert itself at the ministries. We are not going to make any changes that would violate this principle. However, some changes are inevitable in the interest of a good operation of state administration.

[SLOBODNY PIATOK] Compromise was characteristic of the opposition's joint course of action against someone. Will it last until the elections? In this period, it will be necessary to address a number of practical and urgent social problems, on which the Christian Democratic Movement and the Party of the Democratic Left, for example, can have different opinions.

[Moravcik] What is involved is a permanent process of achieving and renewing consensus? The mechanism is laid down in the coalition agreement. What determined the formation of the current government coalition were discussions on practical problems, on the solution to which we had agreed.

Meciar: Predicting Shape of HZDS 'Premature'

AU0804085694 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 30 Mar 94 p 4

["Excerpt" of interview with Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, by Frantisek Melis; place and date not given: "I Will Stay Until the Elections"—reprinted from 29 March issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak]

[Text] [Melis] At its assembly in Trnava a year ago, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] adopted a resolution on its transformation from a movement into a party. This resolution has not been fulfilled, however, and, even after its Presov assembly [on 26-27 March], the HZDS remains a broad-spectrum movement.

[Meciar] The discussion about the shape the movement should take is a permanent one. Half of our members and functionaries are in favor of its transformation into a party and the others are opposed. They say that they have never been, and will never be, members of any party. It is premature to say how the HZDS will evolve because this is also connected with the support of the changing social base of society and the profile the other parties will assume. Everything will become more legible after the elections. We are holding on to the pragmatic center and will surely eventually shift somewhere, even though the evolution on the European political scene is taking another direction, away from the traditional right-center-left division.

[Melis] Judging according to the present [polls on party] preferences, it can be assumed that you will score another electoral victory—one, however, that need not be as striking as that of 1992. The question therefore arises whether you will be able to set up a new government should the president entrust you with its formation, as this should be a broad-coalition government.

[Meciar] Forecasting the outcome of the elections is premature because it can be influenced by a number of factors. The present preferences represent a good foundation for success, but we shall seek the broadest possible support. Two sorts of decisions will have to be made after the elections: what the citizen will say and whom I will accept and who will accept me. There is no point in sitting in the government at any price and implementing someone else's program. I do not expect many people to stay away from the polls, nor do I expect the miniparties to succeed. Those who let themselves be intoxicated by the vision of getting into the government fast miscalculated.

[Melis] The government parties want to offer you one seat each in the leadership of the Supreme Inspection Office [NKU], in the National Property Fund [FNM] Presidium, and in the FNM Supervisory Board. Will you accept these offers?

[Meciar] They would be well advised not to corrupt us with offers of seats in the NKU leadership because we will not recognize the NKU. The preceding leadership was recalled in contravention of the Constitution. After all, the National Council cannot, by means of a resolution, violate the Constitution and the laws of this state that it had itself passed. We cannot provide legitimacy to breach the Constitution. Let them lie on the shameful bed they made for themselves. Regarding the FNM bodies, we have proposed one candidate for each of them. We reserve the right to our own viewpoint when it comes to approving the FNM Presidium.

Duray Accused of Dividing Ethnic Hungarians

AU0804082694 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Apr 94 pp 1, 12

[Article by "zr": "Loyalty Verging on Servility; Miklos Duray Interferes in Hungarian Election Campaign"]

[Text] Miklos Duray, chairman of the Egyutteles (Coexistence) movement, has recently aroused controversy in Hungary and among ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia. Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, foreign policy spokesman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, currently the largest opposition party in Hungary, accused Duray of interfering in the Hungarian election campaign.

It is evident, according to the spokesman, that Duray played a part in the cancellation of an invitation for Gabor Kuncze, the Free Democrats' (Liberals') candidate for prime minister, by the mayors of four communities in southern Slovakia. Gabor Kuncze was supposed to attend the festivities marking 15 March, the day of the memorable revolution of 1848, which is Hungarian national day. Duray denies, however, that he was behind the cancellation of this invitation and told a correspondent of the [Hungarian-language] Bratislava daily UJ SZO: "Someone wanted to use this against me politically."

Tension was to be felt already when Duray spoke out against the Hungarian Socialist Party on Budapest television, and it escalated after a statement in which Duray claimed that, in the coming May parliamentary elections, 60-70 percent of Hungarians in Slovakia would vote for the leading party of the present government coalition, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], if they could vote.

UJ SZO commentator Mihaly Toth protested against this statement late last week when he wrote, among other things: "We must understand this statement to mean that, in the opinion of Hungarians in Slovakia, an accommodating attitude (in policy toward neighbors—editor's note), which was repeatedly emphasized by the Hungarian liberal parties in the course of the preceding year and which has also been assimilated by the Hungarian Socialist Party, is actually misguided because it does not tally with the MDF foreign policy concept. The main difference between the "neighborly policy" of the MDF, on the one hand, and that of the Hungarian Liberals or Socialists, on the other, is that, whereas the present policymakers were not able to take even one step

toward Hungarian-Slovak rapprochement, the present opposition parties have indicated that, if they manage to get into the government, they are ready to conclude a treaty on the absolute unchangeability of Hungarian-Slovak borders in exchange for guarantees of ethnic Hungarians' rights in Slovakia. I suppose that I am not exaggerating when I contend that, in this matter (which is of the greatest relevance to us), at least 70 percent of Hungarians in Slovakia agree with the Liberals or the Socialists in Hungary."

The commentator writes that Duray's loyalty to the MDF is comprehensible from an individual and narrowly conceived party viewpoint—"this loyalty has ideological and material roots." However, this loyalty, which almost "verges on servility," has a clearly harmful influence on the effectiveness of ethnic Hungarians' policy in Slovakia.

Implications of Referendum Law Examined

94CH0203A Bratislava NOVE SLOVO BEZ RESPEKTU in Slovak 14 Mar 94 p 7

[Article by Ladislav Orosz: "Referendum Controversy"]

[Text] In connection with the drive to collect signatures for a petition calling for a referendum, the greatest controversy is engendered by the second question, which concerns the fate of the electoral mandate of those deputies who left the ranks of the political parties on whose ticket they ran in the elections. Views have been expressed that this question is unconstitutional and cannot be the subject of the referendum. Many are asking what the position of the president of the Slovak Republic [SR] is in this respect: Can he refuse to hold a referendum on this issue?

In searching for an answer to this question, we come up against the fact that the pertinent provisions of the SR Constitution are ambiguous and even contradictory. According to Article 93, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution, "basic rights and freedoms, taxes, levies, and the state budget cannot be the subject of a referendum." It would follow from the quoted phrase that a referendum cannot be held on these questions. On the other hand, the text of Article 95 of the Constitution is formulated in such a way that it makes it incumbent on the SR president to call a referendum if a petition containing the signatures of at least 350,000 citizens requests it. Therefore, if the SR president were not to call a referendum, he could be accused of violating the Constitution, specifically its Article 95.

What remains unanswered is who will judge whether the question proposed for the referendum cannot be the subject of the referendum according to Article 93, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution. The conception of the Constitution implies that the instrument should be the SR Constitutional Court as the independent judicial institution for the protection of constitutionality. The problem lies in the fact that the Constitution does not specifically entrust the determination of these questions to the jurisdiction of the SR Constitutional Court. The authority of the SR Constitutional Court to give an opinion on the problem under discussion can be indirectly implied from Article 128, Paragraph 1 of the Constitution: "The Constitutional Court interprets constitutional laws when there is a controversy. The conditions will be determined by law."

The conditions referred to in the quoted provision of the Constitution are set down in Law No. 38/1993 of the SR National Council on the organization of the SR Constitutional Court, proceedings before it, and the standing of its judges in Sections 45 to 47. Accordingly, the Constitutional Court interprets the constitutional laws only when a controversy arises about their interpretation between the proposer (it could even be the president) and some state agency. From what is mentioned above, it appears that, under the existing laws, the president cannot, in the case of the planned referendum, turn to the Constitutional Court for an interpretation before the referendum is announced because there is no controversy with a state agency. The possibility of using such an approach could be provided to him only by an amendment of the mentioned law.

The president could have some possibility of turning to the Constitutional Court under the existing law only after the referendum has taken place. If the Constitutional Court arrives at the opinion that one of the questions asked in the referendum could not have been the subject of the referendum as determined in Article 93, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution, it could, in my opinion, declare such a referendum invalid. But the Constitutional Court would obviously make such a ruling in an extremely tense political situation and in a state of constitutional turmoil, which the results of the referendum could create in view of the conflicting nature of the several provisions of the Constitution in respect to the question concerning the fate of the deputies' electoral mandates.

Under such circumstances, before announcing the referendum, it would be more appropriate to create a way, through legislative means, for the Constitutional Court to determine the constitutionality of the planned referendum, an additional reason being the initial very negative responses from abroad.

Defense Ministry Secretary Views Tasks

AU0804084294 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Mar 94 p 5

[Interview with Defense Ministry Secretary Andrej Sabol by Imrich Modrocky; place and date not given: "To Change the Style of Work"]

[Text] The Slovak public has favorably accepted the appointment of Major General Engineer Andrej Sabol as Slovak Defense Ministry secretary. On this occasion, we asked for an interview with him. In the beginning, we were interested in who had proposed him for this post and why he had accepted it.

[Sabol] I believe that it is not important to know who proposed me for this position. They are people who considered this step thoroughly. Anyway, this is the way it was announced. My reaction is very simple. I do not want to be a member of any political party. Slovakia's interests are, and will be, the only politics I will be engaged in.

[Modrocky] What has your predecessor left for you, and what are your work priorities?

[Sabol] Your question is very suggestive, but my answer will be very simple. In the Army, we have to transform our individualist method of control into a systemic method of administration. Our priorities are to trust the people and to give them appropriate powers. On the other hand, we have to demand an energetic and active fulfillment of all of the tasks, including those that have been neglected in the past few months.

[Modrocky] The appointment of a new manager is often linked to personnel changes. Are you going to replace some people? What qualities should your colleagues have?

[Sabol] We must judge people not according to how others look at them but according to their work capabilities. I have a simple requirement. They must be active collaborators, full of initiative, who do not have to be "pushed to work" and who come up with their own ideas and proposals for solving problems that arise. If this is not the case, they have to realize that, as long as they, in their position, are unable to contribute to the solution of their tasks, they have to search for a job where they could assert themselves.

[Modrocky] New Slovak Defense Minister Pavol Kanis spoke about a certain tension between the Slovak Republic's Defense Ministry and the Slovak Republic's Army Command. It will certainly be in your interests to change this situation.

[Sabol] I have to say that we, Mr. Kanis and I, are extremely interested in eliminating misunderstandings and tensions that really have existed between Bratislava and Trencin [seat of Army Command]. We want to clearly define the roles of the Slovak Defense Ministry and the Army Command. One is a political and the other a military body. We are not going to interfere in one another's jurisdiction. On the contrary, we will demand responsible and perfect fulfillment of the tasks. We will introduce systemic administration. Higher levels of administration will provide methodical help to lower levels. Moreover, lower levels of administration will be given more jurisdiction and will be raised to higher levels.

[Modrocky] What should be the optimal relations between the minister, who is a politician, and the state secretary, who is a soldier?

[Sabol] This problem is a very easy one. I am convinced that it is all right if the defense minister is a civilian, with clear military and political concepts. A soldier in the position of state secretary is a plus in that he is able to formulate essential principles regarding the development of the Army and its training, because he is a professional, and to help implement structural changes within the Army. I believe that, if the roles of the two men are understood in that way, their roles will become complementary, which will contribute to the solution of the problems that still have not been sorted out in the Army.

[Modrocky] It is a known fact that you were involved in the arms industry. Will you continue to be active in that sphere?

[Sabol] The Slovak economy certainly has to deal with problems linked to the production of arms systems and military technology. This is what Slovakia has inherited. In the world, this problem is quite clear-cut. On the other hand, it is quite clear that our arms production has to meet certain demands. It is true that the Slovak Republic Army is only a very small customer for the advanced arms industry in Slovakia. If the Army places orders for weapon systems and military technology only from time to time, we should not expect that the industry would produce them right away. This is why we have to harmonize and organize, as they do in advanced democratic countries, our exports and the innovation of technology in such a way as to allow the Army's weapons to be modernized and replaced in case of need. I also want to say that it is not possible for the Slovak arms industry to produce weapons on its previous scale. Today, we have to sort out two problems: first, the production of new systems after they are brought to a certain level of modernization, and second, the modernization of the systems that have already been manufactured in quite large amounts. They are scattered all over the world and are due to be modernized. Arms production has been stopped in Slovakia, but that has not stopped the military conflicts in the world, of course. We have discontinued production, but others have become richer as a consequence. I do not believe that Slovakia should surpass the world's framework and standards. Slovakia must have its place in the sun as regards this matter. We do not want more than we are entitled to. We want this society, Europe, and the entire world to conduct a healthy life.

[Modrocky] In your view, what do the Defense Ministry and the Army Command need at present?

[Sabol] The ministry has to change the style of its work. It must fulfill its legal obligations and meet the standards. The Army Command has to take over the jurisdiction of such a large body as the General Staff. I have to say that we do not have enough skilled experts. This means that we have to fulfill our tasks while simultaneously educating our people.

[Modrocky] The Army lacks important laws. Do you expect that, in your position of state secretary, you will be able to repair this flaw?

[Sabol] Yes. We are decided, the defense minister and I, to do our best for the laws to pass so that we might live in a law-abiding state that respects legal standards. Laws are very much needed and are important for the further development of the Army. This development will depend on the economy and foreign policy and on our image in Europe. We are prepared to do all we can to make the Army really respect all the laws that apply to it.

Tension Noted Between Defense Ministry, Army

AU0704174994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "The Cause of Tense Relations; Partnership for Peace—Means to NATO Membership"]

[Text] Trencin—On Thursday [31 March], Pavol Kanis, minister of defense of the Slovak Republic, met in Trencin with functionaries and civilian employees of the Army Command of the Slovak Republic. In his address he stated, among other things, that we understand Partnership for Peace as a means toward NATO membership.

Speaking about the tasks of the Army of the Slovak Republic in the coming period, Kanis described as one of the most important the preparation of an optimal variant of the Army's transformation into new organizational structures while abiding by the limits concerning troop numbers and weapon systems set by the Vienna and Paris agreements.

At a news conference following the meeting with functionaries and civilian employees of the Army Command of the Slovak Republic in Trencin, Kanis analyzed the causes of the tense relations between the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic and the Army Command of the Slovak Republic. One of the causes, in his opinion, was that, in the process of division of the former federal Army and the establishment of an independent Army of the Slovak Republic, the Army Command was set up first and the Ministry of Defense only later. In his opinion, this has caused problems in the search for the optimal structure of relations and powers between the two institutions. Specific problems of this relationship rested, according to Pavol Kanis, also in the fact that the minister of defense was a soldier.

Dealing with the reduction of basic military service to 12 months, Lieutenant General Julius Humaj, commander of the Army of the Slovak Republic, stated, among other things, that this period is sufficient for the military training of rank-and-file soldiers but not for NCO's. Their specialized training has been reduced from six to three months, which is generally considered insufficient. The Army wants to address this problem by means of the gradual professionalization of some NCO's, as is common in NATO armies.

ΩStudy Assesses State of Economy

94P20579A

[Editorial Report] In a study prepared at the request of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, a team of economists from a leading Slovak economic institute has concluded that, in 1993, the Slovak economy was strongly affected by the breakup of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent currency division, by extensive tax reforms, and by the recession in developed economies, especially in West Europe. The study by the Bratislava-based SAV Economic Institute was reported in the 28 February issue of the Prague daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

GDP Decline Slows

The SAV Institute economists noted that the decline in productivity moderated only slightly from the first-quarter drop. However, compared to 1992, when the GDP dropped by 7 percent, the estimated 1993 GDP decline was only 3.7 percent, and the institute expects improved performance in 1994. The decline in industrial production was 17.1 percent in constant prices, and exports of industrial goods remained relatively high. Reduced production was only partially reflected in unemployment but caused about an 8-percent decline in overall labor productivity, in contrast to 1992, when it was almost constant.

Developments in the construction sector were unfavorable. The study attributes at least 25 percent of the decline in the construction industry to the Slovak recession and concludes that it will only be possible to use the excess capacity abroad. Structural changes in the industry are reportedly proceeding rapidly. Up to 50.9 percent of construction-material production came from private or nongovernmental businesses. Agricultural production declined by 6-7 percent in 1993, about half the rate of 1992. Because of significant price increases, the agricultural economy has actually improved.

Inflation, Wages

On the positive side, the study points out that, in spite of numerous problems, Slovakia remained part of a small group of transforming countries with relatively low inflation, with consumer prices increasing by only 15.9 percent in the first 11 months of 1993. Continued nominal wage raises increased labor costs expressed in Slovak korunas (Sk), but the devaluation of 10 July 1993 reduced such costs in dollars.

Unemployment

The labor market situation was influenced by the domestic recession and somewhat exacerbated by the effects of recessions in Germany and Austria. The rate of unemployment increased from 10.4 percent at the end of 1992 to 14.4 percent by the end of 1993. (The study, however, also points out that this is only the statistical unemployment rate; hidden unemployment, especially in the nationalized and privatizing industries, accounts

for an additional unrecorded number of unemployed.) During the year, the number of industrial workers declined by 11 percent and construction workers by 16 percent. Trade-sector employment, however, increased by 22 percent, and the number of people employed by the private sector as a whole increased by 49 percent.

Foreign Trade

Initial estimates of foreign trade volume in 1993 indicate a continued decline, especially in trade with the Czech Republic. Compared to 1992, imports from the Czech Republic dropped by approximately 38 percent, while exports fell by approximately 24 percent, leading to a rough overall balance of trade between the two countries. Trade with other countries showed a relatively small decline. The trade deficit with countries other than the Czech Republic increased from Sk2 billion korunas in 1992 to approximately Sk17.5 billion in 1993.

Budget Deficit

The budget approved for 1993 was balanced. However, because some of the macroeconomic assumptions on which it was based proved to be wrong, the preliminary review of the budget indicates a deficit of Sk22.6 billion. Net Slovak Government indebtedness reached approximately Sk61 billion in 1993.

Outlook for 1994

In assessing the prospects of the Slovak economy for 1994, the SAV Institute economists point out that the ongoing transformation process will continue to have a major impact and will make accurate forecasts difficult. Nevertheless, their evaluation of general conditions leads them to believe that economic performance in 1994 will be better than that of 1993.

The SAV Institute study predicts an overall 14-15 percent increase in consumer prices in 1994. It qualifies its inflation forecast with the proviso that stagnant or very slowly improving labor productivity, combined with low inflation rates in Western countries, could weaken the Slovak koruna, leading to further devaluation. A policy to counteract these pressures has not yet been developed. Devaluation could lead to additional consumer price increases of 2-3 percent, resulting in a consumer price increase of 16-18 percent.

The SAV Institute study warns that liquidation of unprofitable business operations could have an additional negative effect on economic performance. Elimination of all highly unprofitable companies could cause a 1-percent drop in the GDP. A growth in private enterprise could possibly negate this effect, provided it continues at least at the 1993 levels. The SAV Institute economists also expect that foreign trade will be negatively influenced by the economic recession in much of the rest of the world. With the exception of several large investments in energy and communications, foreign investors are expected to remain rather conservative. On this basis, the 1994 GDP is expected to range from a negative 1.5 to a positive 1 percent. Unemployment is expected to remain in the 17-to-18-percent range.

In the opinion of the study's authors, relatively positive economic performance will be accompanied by relatively high levels of inflation and a deficit in the range of 5.2-5.9 percent of the GDP. These factors could make tighter monetary policy necessary, leading to a moderate decline in living standards.

Boross, Goncz Address Assembly's Final Session

LD0704160794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpt] The National Assembly's last working day started with speeches by the president of the Republic and the prime minister. Andras Domany reports:

[Domany] If the deputies can conclude the past four years with a clear conscience, it is because they managed to lay the foundation of the institutional legal system of the new and democratic Hungary. This, even if haltingly, operates without hitches—an achievement of both the government coalition and the opposition equally, President Arpad Goncz said.

He praised the work that was accomplished and said that one of the reasons why the assembly could not manage to gain the heart of the country completely was that the country had expected miracles from the newborn democracy. However, fate, and not the National Assembly, failed to deliver that miracle. Although an inappropriate tone was sometimes used, it was the failing of a few. Hopefully, the head of state continued, the majority of those deputies saying farewell would be able to use their experience in their next tenure.

There are things that the assembly still has to do, Goncz said. The commissioner of human rights was not elected and the assembly representation of minorities has not been settled. The head of state is to submit a bill to the next assembly about amending the Penal Code, which will serve to prevent racial discrimination. He also considers the media law and social supervision of the public service radio and television important, deeming it inadmissible that the lack of these laws should create a source of ceaseless and poisonous internal political tension and put in doubt the enforcement of the freedom of expression of opinion and freedom of speech granted by the constitution. Hoping for a fair and clean election fight, Arpad Goncz said the following: Whatever the people's choice is, we have a duty to take heed of that, winners and losers alike, for the mutual aim remains the same—the good of the country and the service of the people.

He hoped that the Hungarian people, owing to its wisdom, would emerge victorious from the elections.

After this, Prime Minister Peter Boross asked permission to speak. He said that the performance of the National Assembly over the past four years may perhaps be disputed today, but looking back from a distance it will be seen as an historic period marking the change of the epoch and the regime.

He also mentioned the election period, hoping that it will take place in an atmosphere of fairness and that everybody will participate, which would serve the prosperity of the country ensuring that in the next assembly everybody could meet in a good and friendly atmosphere. The legislative work will cease now, but the government will function, Peter Boross said. During its operation, among other things, the government will create all possible conditions for clean elections and the election of an assembly, the composition of which is realistic and meets the public will. Furthermore, this government, for the first time in several decades, will give a detailed account of its four-year activity, the prime minister said.

After this, the National Assembly began its last working day. [passage omitted]

Emergency Committee Session Debates Radio Issue

LD0704125494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] The parliament's cultural committee is holding an emergency session. The committee chairman convened deputies to discuss the letter of Laszlo Csucs [Hungarian Radio deputy chairman] on the radio dismissals. Edit Schranz reports on the details:

[Schranz] If the cultural committee session does not lead to results today, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] will consider, in accordance with the Constitution, the convention of an extraordinary parliamentary session to establish the extent of the government's responsibility in the radio matter, Tamas Fodor, SZDSZ deputy in the cultural committee, told "Chronicle."

Tamas Fodor also said that the parliament's mandate did not cease today, as committee sessions could be convened at any time. In his view it is doubtful that the Hungarian Radio deputy chairman had justified his measures in his letter to the committee.

Committee Chairman Attila Zsigmond from the Hungarian Democratic Forum told today's dailies that he could accept some of the details of Laszlo Csucs's letter.

Walesa's Conditions To Meet Coalition Noted

WS0804100894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Luiza Kowalska and Robert Krasowski: "President's Conditions; Walesa Wants National Security Council"]

[Text] *The president is ready to meet Pawlak and Kwasniewski, but, in return, he wants the coalition to withdraw Rosati's candidacy, and he also wants a speedy establishment of a National Security Council [RBN]. The coalition fears that the RBN will strengthen the president's powers to an undesirable extent.*

"The president is open to proposals for a meeting with the coalition's leaders," stated Andrzej Drzycimski, the Belweder's spokesman, after a Walesa-Oleksy meeting during which the Sejm speaker tried to persuade the president to meet Prime Minister Pawlak and Aleksander Kwasniewski, a leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD].

But Drzycimski also suggested that such a meeting may take place only after the coalition meets two conditions.

The first would be the coalition's official decision to give up trying to force Dariusz Rosati's candidacy for the post of finance minister and deputy prime minister. The president assured Oleksy yesterday that his decision to reject Rosati's candidacy is irreversible.

Second, the Belweder is demanding an acceleration of work on the establishment of the RBN.

"It does not make sense to establish spur-of-the-moment and extraconstitutional agencies" is the way Drzycimski commented on the idea of a Walesa-Kwasniewski-Pawlak meeting. "But the RBN and, until it is established, the National Defense Committee [KOK] could be such a constitutional forum."

"I want to believe that what Minister Drzycimski says has nothing to do with what Mr. President thinks," Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the SLD told ZYCIE WARSZAWY. "After all, completely different issues are discussed during KOK's sessions."

The purpose of the trilateral meeting suggested by the SLD is to resolve the political stalemate caused by the rejection of Rosati's candidacy. The SLD fears that a withdrawal of Rosati and the submission of a new candidate will not solve the problem because there are no guarantees that the president will not apply a veto a second time.

Drzycimski said yesterday that, before an official announcement of a new candidate, the coalition should present it to the Belweder. The president's spokesman admits that there is no constitutional requirement for the government to consult the president over candidates for governmental posts. "But, if one wants the candidate to be approved...," Drzycimski said.

Both parties to the meeting denied that the name of a new SLD candidate was mentioned during the talks.

It is still not known when the Walesa-Pawlak-Kwasniewski meeting could take place. Drzycimski stated that it was not possible up to now because Kwasniewski has been abroad. But Oleksy stated that the SLD leader is returning on Friday, and it is possible that the meeting will take place that day.

Oleksy said after the meeting that he was trying to persuade the president to sign the budget law and the electoral law to gmina [small administrative units] councils soon. But the president said he has not yet made a final decision on these issues.

—A decision to establish the RBN was made on the initiative of the Belweder during the most recent KOK session, in November 1993. The RBN was supposed to be the supreme state agency in the area of the country's defense system and security. The government would have to execute the RBN's decisions, whereas the RBN's composition would be the same as that of KOK—among other things, it would include the president; the prime minister; Sejm and Senate speakers; chiefs of the Defense Ministry, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the Finance Ministry; and the chief of the President's Office. The coalition has initially agreed to the establishment of the RBN, and Sejm Speaker Oleksy even promised speedy legislative proceedings. But once specific items relative to the RBN were presented, the coalition refused to support the idea any longer. According to the coalition's representatives, the RBN's composition would cause an imbalance in the legal status guaranteed by the Constitution because a majority of the RBN's members would be associated with the Belweder camp. The Belweder in turn thinks that the RBN idea limits presidential powers, and that is why the coalition leaders, who are already making plans to assume the presidency, want to prevent its establishment.

Further on Possible Talks

WS0804114894 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 8-10 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "E.W.:" "If Government Gives Rosati Up; President-Coalition Talks Possible Next Week"]

[Text] *"The president is open to a meeting with the governing coalition. But, before the meeting takes place, the coalition's representatives should take an unambiguous stand on Lech Walesa's rejection of the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati," said Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman, after Thursday's [7 April] meeting between Lech Walesa and Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy. According to the Sejm speaker, a meeting between President Lech Walesa and the governing coalition will take place next week at the latest. "I am hoping for that, and I want to be convinced of that," the Sejm speaker said.*

A. Drzycimski stated that the president wants to talk with serious politicians, who take the country's problems seriously. The spokesman explained to journalists that there is a precondition for L. Walesa's meeting with the coalition—namely, it is that common themes exist, and one of those is a unanimous stand by the coalition regarding Dariusz Rosati, who was a candidate for finance minister and deputy prime minister but who was later rejected by L. Walesa. The conversation should take place within constitutional provisions. "According to the president, a National Security Council would be an appropriate, constitutionally allowed place for such consultations," Drzycimski stated. The council would include the president, the prime minister, Sejm and Senate speakers, and the chiefs of key ministries. The spokesman stated that Oleksy failed to present the president with a new candidate for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister [preceding sentence published in boldface].

As the Sejm speaker said, the meeting at the Belweder was an opportunity to talk about all things that concern the country and raise public concern. Among the topics discussed were the issue of L. Walesa's nonsigning of the budget law, and doubts concerning the president's signing the electoral law to gmina [small administrative units] councils. "I was trying to persuade the president to sign the budget," J. Oleksy admitted. Conditions for effective functioning by the government and the coalition in different areas were also discussed. The Sejm speaker stressed that he is in favor of the president talking to the coalition without the media playing the role of an intermediary, but, instead, in a direct way, with the participation of people occupying some posts at the central level. Such a meeting, which, as J. Oleksy stressed, would not have to be in the form of negotiations, would serve the goal of better communication and also of defining methods for a better functioning of the state. "I presented my views. I think they were the average of the views circulating in parliament; such is my role there," the Sejm speaker said.

The conversation at the Belweder was also an opportunity to evaluate the results of a Sejm delegation's visit to Russia, and also to define the goals of a new, breakthrough strategy with regard to relations with Japan. A delegation of our parliament headed by J. Oleksy is going to Japan on Friday. According to a communique by the Belweder's press office, the Sejm speaker agreed with the president's suggestion that Walesa should be consulted over international visits by politicians on the highest level. This would serve to assure a uniform image of Polish foreign policy.

NOWA EUROPA asked Jerzy Szmajdzinski (Democratic Left Alliance), chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission and a secretary general of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, to comment on the president's proposal:

"I cannot answer the question before the meeting of the coalition. Personally, I do not share the president's arguments by which he disqualified Professor Dariusz Rosati. That is why I cannot be sure whether the next candidate would agree to be 'dissected' over several weeks in all possible ways, only to be informed three minutes into the prime minister's visit to the president that, either he has been in Poland too long or he is not involved in any affair, and these reasons disqualify him from being deputy prime minister and finance minister. I am sure the coalition will hold a session before the meeting with the president, and, during the session, appropriate decisions will be made."

Situation After Rejection of Popiwek Examined

WS0804110094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "Summit Meeting After Rosati's Resignation; Popiwek—A Political Issue"]

[Text] The government coalition met a double defeat on Thursday [7 April]: It did not override the president's veto, and, second, the summit meeting of the president, the prime minister, and the head of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will be held only after the coalition officially abandons the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister.

On Thursday, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, who paid a visit to the president, made efforts to organize such a meeting. Perhaps as soon as today the Sejm will discuss the new bill on wage control.

The New Bill as Soon as Today?

The coalition is of the opinion that the president's rejection of the new popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases] law was a political decision. The opposition claims that it voted against it because it was a bad law. The president's veto was not rejected because the only deputies who voted against it were those of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the SLD—and not all of them at that. The deputies of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ] voted contrary to the coalition's decisions, and a substantial number of the PSL deputies did not take part in the ballot at all.

Before the voting, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said that the debate on the law was a discussion "over who is who on the political scene." When it turned out that the result of the voting was negative for the government and the coalition, he did not respond to the question of whether the government already had another bill on wage controls and, if so, when it would be submitted in the Sejm. Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy said that, if the Sejm decided to shorten the legislative procedures, the new bill might be discussed as early as today.

"I am counting on a responsible attitude of the managers of enterprises, on trade unions, when they have thought

this issue over," the prime minister appealed and asked not to dramatize the situation.

Marek Borowski still maintains his opinion that the president's veto was of a political, not a substantive, nature. He said: "It is some kind of a success for the president; however, it may turn into his failure if the government and the coalition close ranks and are able to oppose the destructive activities of Lech Walesa. As a result of this, further such successes by the president will be impossible, and the coalition will be strengthened. The president has decided to make himself felt on the political scene in a manner that is detrimental to the economy." According to Marek Borowski, the government must start controlling wage increases with other methods, which are more time-consuming and more difficult than the popiwek. Treasury Partnerships may be controlled directly, other state-run enterprises through fiscal offices. "This calls for firm action by the government, and it is more inconvenient for enterprises; however, in this situation, there is no better solution. This is a challenge for the government and the coalition," stated Borowski.

President's Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that if the Sejm amends the new popiwek law, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the president will then sign this law.

A Meeting Yes, Rosati No

While visiting the president, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy tried to arrange a summit meeting between the coalition and the president; he also attempted to persuade the president to sign the budget law.

After the talk, Andrzej Drzycimski once again declared on behalf of the president the desire to meet with the coalition leaders. However, the condition for such a talk was "an unequivocal decision concerning the candidacy of Rosati"—that is, abandoning it, as well as "joint topics"—the name of a new candidate for deputy prime minister.

"Rosati is out of the question," Drzycimski repeated once again. "The president should be consulted on the new candidacy before it is announced to the public," the spokesman said. "If one wants to obtain the acceptance of a candidacy, it is customary to hold such consultations."

Following the meeting with the president, Jozef Oleksy said that the "summit" meeting is possible "any day now." "The date of the meeting is not up to us," stated Drzycimski. It seems that the conditions necessary for holding this meeting may be met no sooner than next week.

The president wants to talk with politicians who think seriously about the country's affairs. Seriously, he explained—that is when they do not call one another names.

During the talk with the president, Oleksy proposed holding meetings with "the leading people" in the country, not in order to make decisions but to agree on a joint opinion. Drzycimski explained that the president believes that the meetings among the leading politicians should be held within constitutional bodies, such as the National Security Council, for instance. He recalled that the law on the general defense duty had gotten stuck in the government. It is worth recalling that the bill was drafted by the military specialists from the General Headquarters. It seems that its first chapter, which defines, among other things, the powers of the president in the area of controlling the issues of the state's defense, prepared in line with the Belweder's suggestions, would probably be unacceptable for the present coalition.

According to Drzycimski, the president has not yet decided whether to sign the budget law and the electoral law to gmina [smallest administrative units] councils. The Sejm speaker feels that the president will most likely not sign the latter.

The Defeat of the Coalition

The PSL deputies agreed that the result of the voting on the president's veto was a definite defeat for the coalition. Roman Jagielinski said that the defeat was caused by the fact that some SLD as well as PSL deputies were not entirely convinced that this law was right; in the previous voting, they were forced to support this law, even though in the election campaign both parties were against the popiwek. "The president's decision was political, and we gave him good reason to make such a decision by extending wage control to the private sector," Jagielinski stated. "We should draw the following conclusion from this: It is necessary to close our ranks because there is no alternative to the coalition. Then this defeat will turn out to be beneficial to us."

"The irresponsible statements that a new law will be forwarded to the Sejm are the worst. As a result of them, wages will go up very fast," fears Maciej Manicki, who, along with other OPZZ deputies, supported the president's veto in the Sejm ballot. According to him, the unionists did not vote like the rest of the coalition because they had much more important issues in mind than merely the game played between the Belweder and the government. It was a law that was supposed to be retroactive—from 1 April—and was thus a violation of the law. "The Constitutional Tribunal would immediately query it, so it was better to put an end to it today," Manicki believes. According to him, the fact that the union's deputies voted differently will cause friction within the SLD Club; however, it will only be temporary. He also draws attention to the fact that as many as 20 PSL deputies did not vote at all.

"This was a bad law, and the opposition voted against it in the previous voting," said Andrzej Potocki, of the Democratic Union [UD]. "No one should have expected that we would change our minds. We do not side with anyone in the dispute between the coalition and the

president." According to Andrzej Potocki, before the debate, the coalition did not try to speak with the opposition or try to persuade it to change its opinion. He said that, if a new bill is submitted that would not have all of the defects found in the rejected law, UD might support it because it believes that it is necessary to curb wage increases.

Olesky: Rosati Only Candidate for Finance Post

LD0804145994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] At a press conference in the Sejm, Jozef Oleksy [Sejm speaker] and Marek Borowski [deputy leader of the Democratic Left Alliance] have announced that Dariusz Rosati remains the only coalition candidate for the posts of deputy prime minister and finance minister.

They also said that the media had distorted yesterday's statement by Leszek Miller [labor and social policy minister], reporting that there was already a new candidate. They explained that Leszek Miller had only said that the coalition could put forward another candidate if there was a need for it.

Opposition Leader Predicts Social Unrest

LD0804093794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0755 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Wroclaw, 8 Apr—New parliamentary elections are a foregone conclusion and will be held within a year. Any excuse suffices for the president to dissolve the present parliament, the leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], Leszek Moczulski, maintained in an interview with a SLOWO POLSKIE journalist on 8 April. According to him, the "KPN parliamentary floor group as well as several other political groupings in the Sejm are capable of providing the president with such an excuse when the time is right for them." Moczulski is also of the opinion that a breakup of the governing coalition is unavoidable. Should it happen, it will be difficult to establish a majority in the present Sejm.

The KPN leader warns that Poland is facing events similar to those of 1980. According to him, none of the problems put forward "so forcefully" then have ever been resolved. "If society realizes now that the confidence placed in all corners of the political scene, apart from the Confederation, has been ill-placed and that it has been let down, we are going to have events similar to those in August [1980]," Moczulski maintains.

Daily Views Situation of Solidarity

WS0704130094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Piotr Adamowicz and Pawel Reszka: "Solidarity Needs a Success"]

[Text] The Presidium of the National Committee [KK] of Solidarity ["S"] decided on Wednesday [6 April] in Gdansk that a meeting with President Lech Walesa should soon be held at the union's headquarters.

"There is a good prognosis; the president is always willing to discuss the problems of laborers," was the comment by Belweder Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

"The fact that the president did not sign the new popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases] law is a step in the right direction and also a gesture for the union," said "S" Chairman Marian Krzaklewski. He expects that the president will act similarly when it comes to the budget law. "Then one will be able to evaluate the true intentions of the president," Krzaklewski believes.

Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski has recently held several meetings with a member of the KK Presidium on the organization of a meeting between the union's leadership and the president. Opinions within "S" were divided. Some believe that such talks are necessary because the president may become an ally in the union-government dispute. Another group of KK Presidium members, including Kwasniewski, was skeptical. They believe that Walesa would want to take advantage of the temporary rapprochement with "S" for his game with the government coalition.

The Unsuccessful Strike

One of the "S" leaders said during a serious talk that the present strike situation was caused by the impulsiveness of the chairman, who, at a 9 February demonstration, delivered an ultimatum on the "Pact on Enterprise" to the government (Marian Krzaklewski demanded that the entire packet of the "pact" laws be passed by 15 March).

"We were not prepared for strikes; however, one must defend a young chairman whose nerves turned out to be too weak," our informer told us.

Now it seems that the union once again wants to save face after the unsuccessful strike action, which started on 7 March.

One could find several examples of the union's inconsistency.

On 11 March, trains were supposed to be stopped. However, the railroad directors managed to break the strike, and the affair ended up in mere announcements of a strike. "S" was supposed to picket the Sejm from 0830 on 17 March and continue the action until a decision on the popiwek was made. The Sejm deputies put off the voting until the following day, and the picketing broke up after a few hours. Permanent statements about staging a general strike depreciated the most dangerous weapon of the union.

The "S" leaders are themselves beginning to doubt the sense of the strike action. Some KK members have started voicing opinions that the strike should be stopped. The "S" leaders know very well how difficult it

is to stage a protest in a situation when enterprises are going bankrupt and even the lowest-paid employees are afraid of losing their jobs (last year Mazowsze Region chief learned about it himself—the general strike of the region was, generally speaking, nothing more than putting up banners at the enterprises). People's opinions about the protests are also rather unfavorable: A definite majority of them believe that, in the present situation, strikes will not yield any results.

"S" managed, however, to collect the strike fund. It is not known how large the fund is, but it is said to be a considerable sum. Another problem then appeared: Some want to use this money at once, while others would rather invest the money to multiply it.

"Then one could go to a meeting with the prime minister and show him how large the bank account has become. If the sum is enormous, it will make an impression on him. One does not have to stage a strike; the threat would be strong enough. However, this might be possible in three or four years, if we do not fritter this money away before that," says one of the younger KK members.

Controlled Talks

Because it wanted to find a way out of the difficult situation, "S" decided on talks between the experts of "S" and those of the government. From the very beginning, each party wanted to discuss different things, and, as a result, no agreement was reached. However, "S" believed it was a success that the joint communique included the union's demands because the communique would be read by the Council of Ministers.

"Here the game is played in the foreground, and on two levels of each of them," journalists were told by "S" Spokesperson Piotr Zak.

The union activists were aware of the fact that the experts' talks were an element of the game in the triangle of the prime minister, the president, and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Waldemar Pawlak wanted to have an additional advantage, the possibility (for the SLD, the threat) of giving in to "S." Until 13 April, "S" is waiting for the ministers to make the political decision—namely, whether to accept the demands. However, a solution favorable to "S" is almost out of the question. The All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement and its partner, Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, would protest such a decision.

Only the President Remains

Nevertheless, Marian Krzaklewski seems to need a success. The "S" congress is drawing closer. He will have to explain the election failure and show what he has done since last June. Therefore, if talks with the government prove unsuccessful, the unionists will have to turn to the president, who most clearly feels like trying to build an alliance with "S" once again.

A year ago, we saw a similar situation. Marian Krzaklewski did not want to speak with the government. Therefore, a team of experts was set up, but the talks did not result in anything.

Can the president do more than he could last year? He does not exert great influence over the government's decisions, and he is in conflict with the parliament. However, he can veto laws (last year, when he held talks with "S," the parliament was already dissolved). The budget law is waiting for his signature.

There is no doubt that, even though the president's veto would not satisfy the demands of "S," it would certainly be a success, something the union has not had for a long time.

Kaczmarek on Progress of Privatization

PM0804102894 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 Mar 94 p 5

[Interview with Wieslaw Kaczmarek, head of the Ministry for Ownership Transformations, by correspondent Jerzy Kocowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Kocowski] The process of implementing the ownership transformations program generates much excitement among the public. Above all, many questions are raised about the pace at which it is being realized. In your opinion, are the charges of incorrect choice of the chosen privatization paths justified? Or the accusation that they are not effective from the economic viewpoint?

[Kaczmarek] It seems that the all-too-frequent debates on whether we could privatize faster and better are not to be taken seriously. This is because, in my opinion, we have reached the level of effectiveness and efficiency expected of the privatization process at the present stage of its implementation. Our financial results to date are illustrated by the budget revenue of 13.5 trillion zlotys [Z]. However, we must remember that it is estimated that, between the years 1994 and 1998, the countries of the former Eastern bloc will put up for sale assets to the value of $190-200 billion. Consequently, it is hard to compare these two figures today and analyze on this basis whether much or little has been done in Poland so far. As regards the concepts on which the ownership transformation programs are based, I believe that the programs implemented so far were perfectly correct.

[Kocowski] Would you give a similar rating to the West Pomeranian firms that have already been privatized?

[Kaczmarek] Privatization progresses at very different rates in different regions of the country. In your voivodship, there are no strikingly exceptional projects of ownership transformations with, say, the involvement of foreign capital. But there are other excellent ideas. One of these is the pioneering solution adopted by the Szczecin Shipyard. This concept should be imitated throughout the country as an example of a wise contract

entered into by managers and employees of an enterprise. Such solutions are exactly in line with my philosophy of viewing the ownership-transformation process.

[Kocowski] Nevertheless, not all firms were able to follow the road to privatization as easily as that. That road has proved far more tortuous for the Szczecin Brewery, which is still trying to change its ownership status.

[Kaczmarek] Indeed, that case has taken many months and we are only at the stage of the preliminary agreement. This is because the investor who wants to buy shares in the enterprise must first pay an agreed-upon sum in a down payment, within a specified time. If he fails to do so, we will be forced to begin new negotiations, which will naturally delay the completion of the process.

[Kocowski] Recent opinion polls by the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] investigating the population's attitude toward the Universal Privatization Program [PPP] show that 33 percent of our citizens are in favor of the program. The rest are not interested in it. Do these results bode well for the future of the privatization process?

[Kaczmarek] Of course they do because they indicate that 9 million adult Poles accept the idea of privatization. This is, in any case, a very high index of popular support for the government program. I do not recall a country in which this index is higher. Of course, we need to educate the public further in order to explain to the people the economic and financial intricacies of the program. Anything thatch is new and hard to understand at first glance is bound to have a difficult time winning the public's acceptance.

[Kocowski] Surely, the present situation, with a budget that has not yet been approved and a vacant office of the head of the national economy sector, cannot make it easy for you to convince anyone that privatization is a system superior to the present model of economic management.

[Kaczmarek] It certainly makes it much more difficult. The economy must have a leader—someone who will realize the program course mapped out by the budget policy. After all, privatization is not a short-term proposal. It is a concept for long-term economic development.

Privatization of Szczecin Shipyard 'Successful'

PM0804095094 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 Mar 94 pp 1, 5

[Article by "Koc, Zar": "Minister W. Kaczmarek in Szczecin: Privatization of Shipyard a Success"]

[Text] "The privatization of the Szczecin Shipyard is one of the most successful prototype models of privatization of Polish enterprises and of the whole process of ownership transformations," Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek said yesterday during a meeting with the leaders and representatives of the shipyard's trade unions. "Thanks to it," he added, "the shipyard returned to life from the condition of clinical death and entered a phase of development that can legitimately be the envy of other enterprises."

During yesterday's visit to Szczecin, Wieslaw Kaczmarek, head of the Ownership Transformations Ministry, met first with the Szczecin Voivoda and a group of people representing various local institutions, including the Treasury Chamber, the Economic Tribunal, the West Pomeranian Chamber of Industry and Commerce, an employers union, and the region's sugar-manufacturing plants. The longest amount of time was devoted to the sugar-manufacturing industry and the projects to create holding groups to bring sugar-manufacturing plants together. There is a proposal stipulating that such holding groups should be set up before this year's sugar-refining campaign—that is, by August at the latest. The sugar manufacturers agreed with the proposal and added that, while they view the questions of ownership transformations as important, they regard the matter of proper organization of the sugar market—that is, an efficient sugar sales system designed to protect them against mounting interest liabilities on the loans they had taken out—as even more essential to them now.

There was also discussion on the subject of ownership transformations in Szczecin Voivodship, backed up by figures and examples quoted to illustrate the current situation.

During the visit to the Szczecin Shipyard that came next on his agenda, the minister spoke with approval of the shipyard management's achievements. However, he also observed that the tragedy of Polish shipyards consisted in the fact that each of them had its own, different political sponsor. "It would be best if these sponsors withdrew from that particular role and looked at the shipyards from the perspective of economic interests," Minister Kaczmarek added.

Going back to the questions of privatization and the distribution of shares, the minister suggested to the trade union representatives that they abandon the demand that 5 percent of shares be allocated to their unions and, instead, have them placed in a pension fund as long-term capital investment against the future pensions of employees who are currently working at the shipyard.

At the headquarters of the Board of Directors of the Port of Szczecin and Swinoujscie, where another press conference took place, the minister spoke in favor of preserving a uniform model for the port complex of Szczecin and Swinoujscie. He said that he would support this view in parliament during the coming Sejm debate on the maritime ports act.

In the afternoon, Minister W. Kaczmarek met with the employees of the Ownership Transformations Ministry's Szczecin agency, and later with the directors of three large construction firms: ESPEBEPE SA [joint-stock company] Holding, Mostostal, and SPBO Trojka.

Next on the minister's agenda came an open meeting with political activists representing the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] group. During the debate, the participants voiced an equal number of reservations about the methods used in the privatization process and its social and economic effects, and acknowledgments of the soundness of arguments pointing to the evident progress in the implementation of the Polish model of ownership transformations. A large number of questions asked and points raised concerned matters extending far beyond the minister's brief in relation to his sector.

50% of Conscripts Want To Avoid Service

LD0604213794 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Relayed by TV Polonia network]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] The National Defense Ministry, which is beginning the spring conscription today, believes that more than half the conscripts want to avoid doing their military service. Commissions are to check about 250,000 19-year-olds.

Doctors say that an increasing number of young men suffer from psychological disorders. [passage omitted]

Among those who attend the consciption commissions, less than half, about 120,000, actually reach the Army. The remainder manage to avoid military service thanks to postponements or on medical grounds.

[Begin Colonel Kazimierz Cieslik recording, main Military Medical Commission] In the past three years, personality disorders were the main reason for being unfit to undergo military service. Whereas in the 1980's this reason was recorded in 15 percent of cases, the figure has now risen to 27 percent. [end recording]

[Correspondent] On the list of ailments, second place belongs to eye defects, and third to bad posture and hearing problems.

More than half the conscripts think that their time in the Army is time wasted. They also fear the discipline and harassment from soldiers from earlier conscriptions. [passage omitted]

The majority of young men believe that the Polish Army should be a professional army. They think that those serving should be those who want to be in the Army and who are predisposed toward it. But there are not many chances of such an army being created in Poland. [passage omitted]

Just a few years ago, basic military service in Poland lasted two years; service in the Navy could be as long as three years. Today military service lasts 18 months. The General Staff has announced that, as early as next year, it might be possible to shorten it to 12 months.

U.S. General, Iliescu Discuss NATO Ties

AU0704064894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Text] The issue of Romania's participation in the Partnership for Peace program and the prospects for complete integration of our country into Euro-Atlantic structures were issues discussed today by the supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe, U.S. General George Joulwan, during his meeting with Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, and other officials and government members.

After the reception at Cotroceni Palace, the guest stated to the press that Romania's association to the North Atlantic structures is a political decision that depends on the wishes of Romania and NATO.

During his talks with the Romanian prime minister, the U.S. general assured Vacaroiu that NATO clearly wishes to assist Romania. He said that the visit to Romania confirmed his confidence in fruitful cooperation in the military area and this could set a positive example for the entire region.

The supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe affirmed that all details of the programs of cooperation between Romania and NATO will be completed shortly.

Meeting With Defense Minister Noted

AU0704125194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Report by correspondent Nicu Popescu]

[Text] The visit by U.S. General George Joulwan, supreme commander of allied forces in Europe, to Bucharest at the invitation of Romanian National Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca ended at noon today. Before leaving Romania for Albania, Tinca and Joulwan met with journalists in the Byzantine Hall of the National Military Circle and held a news conference.

In his opening statement Tinca extended heartfelt thanks to the U.S. general for the talks and said that the first visit by the supreme commander of allied forces in Europe beyond the borders of the NATO member states, that is, to Romania, has clear political significance. It is considered recognition of our country's geostrategic importance in this region.

The Romanian minister mentioned that during the talks the sides had discussed the political and economic situation in Romania and stressed the irreversible nature of options for a democratic system, pluralism, and market economy.

During the talks the guests were told about the importance of foreign financial support this year for relaunching Romania's economy. Likewise, the Romanian side described plans to reorganize the army, taking into account its new status as a fundamental institution of the rule-of-law state. Tinca said that an important topic of the talks was the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program. He stressed that our county views this formula as an element ensuring the consolidation of stability in this area. The Romanian minister noted that the sides had assessed the intention of Russia and other countries to sign the PFP framework document as a positive element and a new element in the actions to strengthen stability in Europe.

Tinca said that the guests were informed about the current stage in preparing the document of Romania's presentation, which will be approved very soon by Romania's Supreme Defense Council and then sent to Brussels. The defense minister stressed that General Joulwan views the Romanian Army's orientation toward developing relations with the armies of its neighboring countries as an element that helps to increase confidence and good neighborliness. The defense minister reported that the U.S. general had visited the Romanian peacekeeping battalion, which, together with the other two battalions that are to be established soon, will be trained in accordance with a joint concept for peacekeeping operations organized by NATO.

In his statement, Gen. Joulwan again stressed that he had chosen Romania for his first visit outside NATO first of all because our country had showed its willingness to join the PFP and because of its important position in Europe. The general mentioned that during his talks with Romania's president, prime minister, defense minister, and chief of general staff he had noted a consistent team that is concerned with the PFP, achieving peace through freedom, and the commitment to continue this partnership.

Gen. Joulwan also noted that in leaving Romania he was taking with him a clear impression of Romania's commitment to respect this program.

In the second part of the news conference, Gen. Joulwan said in answering reporters' questions that in the PFP, treatment will be equal for all partner states, including the Russian Federation when it signs the document, and he expressed the hope that this would take place this month. Gen. Joulwan mentioned that the decision to participate in the PFP is a matter for each sovereign nation. Regarding specific ways to implement the Partnership program, an issue raised during the talks in Bucharest by the NATO dignitary, speaking on behalf of NATO, he noted that one must first see our country's document of presentation, which will include Romania's strategy or desire to carry out a number of military activities, and then a working plan will be established to include all requirements.

Tinca wished to stress that the PFP makes an indirect contribution to prosperity. Since the PFP is directed toward everyone equally, it will help preserve stability and will strengthen the sense of security. Thus Central and East European countries will be able to concentrate on development and the continuation of reform.

The climate of stability, the Romanian national defense minister added, will have positive effects also regarding foreign investors.

In connection with the tragedy in the former Yugoslavia, Gen. Joulwan said that this worries everybody and the

only solution is diplomatic and political and not military. He said that all efforts must be in the direction of reaching solutions solely through negotiations.

'Experts' on Zhirinovskiy's 'Elipton' Weapon

AU0704143894 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Oana Stanciulescu: "ROMANIA LIBERA Has Obtained a Sensational Document—The Study Was Done by Military Experts Under the Coordination of the Foreign Intelligence Service: Zhirinovskiy's Earthquakes Are Threatening Romania"]

[Text] Related to various speculation that is being made in connection with the mysterious weapon mentioned by Russian ultra- nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Romanian experts have reached the conclusion that actually one has to deal with a maneuver launched by special Russian bodies intended to intoxicate public opinion, and which, owing to lack of information, have managed to fool the mass media in the West and even in our country. Thus, they went so far as to consider the Elipton a sonic weapon, a biological weapon, and even a microwave weapon, while the true nature of this military-technical system was lost in the general cacophony.

Elipton is a weapon system based on gravitational interference. After the last catastrophic earthquake that shook Yerevan, U.S. military analysts revealed two strange things: The catastrophe, which seemed to be a natural one, occurred at a "providential" moment to halt Armenia's autonomist tendencies and it also offered the Soviet political-military authorities a good pretext to liquidate the Armenian nuclear power industry, and thus impose an acute energy dependence on that central republic; the second element refers to the fact that early-warning satellites recorded an orbital "double lightning," which preceded, by a very short time, the earthquake. That was an unmistakable sign of the detonation of a small-size nuclear load, contravening all currently valid international treaties. It was easy to draw conclusions: The Soviets have discovered a way to trigger earthquakes. Ten months later, using a rocket launched from an F-15 fighter-bomber (ASAT system), the United States managed to intercept, for the first time, a low-orbit satellite. The system was allegedly designed to destroy Soviet spy satellites, but actually it was the sole efficient defense to counter the use of the Elipton over U.S. territory. However, certain rumors had already reached the ears of the mass media—it was the time when many people believed in an imminent and catastrophic reactivation of the San Andreas fault, some sources even held it possible that "half of California would sink into the ocean," as a consequence of a devastating earthquake.

The advantages of the Elipton are obvious: It is a discreet weapon, and any accusations can be brushed off by saying it is a "phantasm," provided that it is used by daylight, so that its lightning could be camouflaged by the sun's natural light.

It is quite significant, that merely three days after Zhirinovskiy's extremely allusive statement regarding the Elipton, the Geophysical Institute of the Russian Academy organized a news conference on the issue of seismic weapons, although no one had explicitly talked about such a thing. That news conference seems to be rather the result of panic. The Russians did not know precisely to what extent Zhirinovskiy, the former GRU [Soviet Military Intelligence] agent, had divulged about the Elipton, and they assumed that Western journalists were at least aware of the exact nature of that weapons system and the name of the person coordinating the program, which, as it later turned out, was not the case at all. During this news conference they claimed that in fact the Elipton does not exist at all: "Earthquakes cannot be triggered except in the places where nature has already prepared them," said the official statement, which, as a matter of fact, was quite precise. The statement actually confirmed previous information about the existence of the Elipton-type weapon systems and about their nature, and it also offered an exact description of the way in which they work. The Hammer [as published] triggers earthquakes wherever there is accumulated tension in the ground, which can be unleashed by a minimal variation of the gravitational acceleration. Thus, they can trigger earthquakes—the magnitude of which, it is true, is very difficult to predict—in areas in which over the past 1,000 years there has not been any seismic activity at all.

The Romanian state is directly vulnerable to weapons such as the Hammer or the Hole [as published] that are part of the Elipton program. Important industrial centers of our country and vital establishments of our defense industry are situated in valley areas such as Tara Barsei [central Romania, where the Carpathian Mountains turn], in which the triggering of catastrophic tornadoes could cause enormous damage to our industrial infrastructure. Moreover, owing to the existence of the seismic area in Vrancea [north-eastern Romania], the possible use of Hammer-type weapons there would cause a catastrophe in Bucharest, considering the current precarious state of the buildings in our capital city.

Such weapons might be used in the near future if a geopolitical conflict breaks out as a consequence of the unification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania or of our country's active integration within NATO. No methods are known to counter such weapons. However, one could count on warning signs offered by attempts to use them, which fail owing to insufficient precision.

Defense Report on 'Failure' of Grachev Visit

AU0704195994 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Oana Stanciulescu: "A Secret Document of the National Defense Minister—Pavel Grachev 'Defends' Dniester Region; The Russians Wish To Cross Over Romania With Their Troops"]

[Text] The political events of the last week were marked by the visit to Bucharest of the Russian Federation's defense minister, Army General Pavel Grachev.

In accordance with a secret report compiled on this occasion by the Romanian Ministry of National Defense, General Grachev's visit was a complete failure. Not pleased with the way in which the negotiations with the Romanian side were unfolding, at the end of the meeting the Russian defense minister directly approached the Dniester issue. According to General Grachev, the local Russian leaders, mostly maneuvered by the former KGB, are making difficulties for the Russian military buffer forces. Therefore, the Russian Army intends to occupy the Dniester region with its military troops. The reason invoked for this action is to prevent the worsening of the current situation in the region, which is characterized by "passing the control over the republic into the hands of certain groups of gangsters," and also to prevent the reopening of the conflict with Moldova. Romania's leadership was informed about this intention both by Ukraine and Turkey.

The position adopted by the Bucharest authorities toward this problem was evasive. The Dniester region, from a legal point of view, does not even exist, thus, this means deploying troops on the territory of Moldova. Therefore, one should ask for Moldova's and not Romania's consent, although Bucharest doubts that the Chisinau authorities would agree to turn the Dniester region into a military base. The Romanian National Defense Ministry document also stressed that Romania is firmly against the increase in the number of military personnel and combat technology in East Europe because, first of all, those would be at variance with the spirit of the treaty on reduction of conventional weapons.

As far as solutions to the crisis in Yugoslavia are concerned, Russia asked Romania to permit the passage of its troops, logistics, and military equipment through Romania's territory to Bosnia.

Romania's leadership was informed about such demands by Ukraine's defense minister, Vitaliy Radetsky. Just like Ukraine, Romania showed willingness to submit only the necessary air corridors, but only upon special request by the United Nations, when the world organization will consider it necessary. Although the Russian general insisted on obtaining a favorable answer on the issue of using Romania's territory for the passage of heavy weapons, he was politely refused, on the pretext of negative reaction from the Romanian people.

According to Romanian experts, the aforementioned document shows that Russia's intention for the future is to install a solid expeditionary corps in Bosnia, which should also participate in all NATO and West European maneuvers.

Melescanu, Belgian Counterpart Discuss Ties

AU0704082794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Text] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and Willy Claes, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Belgium, held official talks in Bucharest today on political relations between the two countries, economic relations, and possibilities of making use of judicial and parliamentary levers to stimulate commercial exchanges between the two countries.

According to our correspondent's report, the Belgian minister expressed the determination of his country to support Romania both in the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program as well as in the Group of 24. The two ministers also examined the possibility of facilitating trips of certain Romanian citizens to Belgium.

In a statement made at the end of talks, Claes said that the most important message that he brings to Romania is that the Group of 12 has no intention of promoting a discriminatory policy between Central European countries and that Romania is not a second-class Central European country.

As far as Romania's association with the European Union [EU] is concerned, Willy Claes said that the treaty of association should be regarded as a last step before the association, however, before 1996 no negotiations can begin on this issue because neither Romania nor the other Central and Eastern European countries are prepared for this stage.

Government Adopts Draft Bill on 1994 Budget

AU0604082494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Text] The government met in a special session yesterday to discuss this year's state budget. Florin Georgescu, state minister and finance minister, who presented the objectives and the structure of the draft budget, emphasized that the current document reflects to a greater extent than previous bills on the state budget the dynamics of the reform and the goals stipulated by the government program, including the ones agreed with the IMF. The document aims to improve the structure of state incomes from taxation and to avoid higher taxes, as for this year the planned average level of taxes reaches 31 percent, whereas in 1993 and in 1992 that level was 32 and 35 percent respectively.

The draft budget's chapter dedicated to state spending stipulates the continuation of boosting investments, especially in the infrastructure, ensuring social protection, support for the agricultural producers, the decentralization of the activities paid from the budget, and the stimulation of exports. In a statement made to our reporters, the finance minister said that it will be an austerity budget with the strict limitation of state spending, especially related to personnel.

GNP is expected to grow by 1.5 percent compared with last year, whereas the budget deficit is expected to grow by 3.5 percent, and the inflation rate by 75 percent.

According to information released by the government, the executive adopted the draft bill on the [1994] state budget with certain corrections that are to be applied

without delay, after which the document will be submitted to parliament as soon as possible.

Army's Lack of Supplies, Housing Examined

AU0604090194 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 28 Mar 94 pp 1, 8

[Article by Nicolae Militaru: "Romania's Army Is Struggling for Survival"]

[Text] For the second time within a short period, Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca was among the officers and soldiers of the Transylvanian 4th Army. Immediately following his appointment, Tinca had accompanied, about two weeks ago, the head of the executive [Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu] on his tour in the counties of Brasov, Covasna, Harghita, and Mures. Following this, on 26 March he attended the oath-taking ceremony that took place in the Someseni garrison, together with General Paul Cheler, commander of the 4th Army, the Cluj County prefect, Grigore Zanc, and the mayor of the city of Cluj-Napoca, Gheorghe Funar.

After the solemn moment of the soldiers' taking their oath of allegiance to the country, the defense minister talked with the parents and relatives of the soldiers, after which he visited some of the barracks of the "General Avramescu" motorized battalion, the shooting and training grounds, as well as the military equipment maintenance and repair bases. At the end of his visit, at the headquarters of the 4th Army, the minister met with the Transylvanian army corps, with generals, and high-ranking officers. The press was admitted to that meeting. Despite the fact that it is the first time ever that this has happened—which proves that the Army is trying to be open in its relations with the press and, through the press, with public opinion—we have to admit that we did not learn too many "secrets." We were already aware, as everyone else in today's Romania, that the budget allotted to the army has decreased each year, that the country's defense industry is almost not functioning at all, and that the pay given to the soldiers is hardly sufficient for them to buy food and pay for the rent and their families' other expenses. We had known that over a number of years the army has ceased to have that spirit of competitiveness it should have, being much rather characterized by a state typical of those struggling for survival.

Thus we went there to learn, straight from the source, how much truth there is in such information, so that we can sound the alarm bell while there is still time to correct things. What we heard from generals and high-ranking officers of the 4th Transylvanian Army confirmed that things are much graver even than we had believed. In Transylvania alone, and just in the near future, the cadres of that army would need a total of 4,587 apartments. The Ramnicu Sarat clothing factory is seriously behind with its deliveries of uniforms, and therefore the recruits have been given worn-out clothing. The boots, and generally, all the footwear produced in Bacau come apart the first time they are used in the sleet. Food prices increased so much that officers detached to other units can hardly afford to maintain themselves, let alone support their families left behind hundreds of kilometers away. Many people do not know that officers are expected to teach their soldiers a total of 22 various disciplines, and if they want to sound convincing when they order: "Soldiers, follow me! Forward!" they have to be considered genuine models by their men. "What is even more serious, General Paul Cheler said,—and this holds true for the entire Romanian Army, not just the Transylvanian one—is the fact that the officers and other military cadres in all military units will not complain about their low pay or other personal problems, but rather about the fact that their units lack ammunition and fuel needed for drills, their Russian-made radio equipment, for instance, is 40 years old, and that their night ammunition is almost identical to that used at the beginning of the century, because its phosphorus needs to be activated with a flashlight." In order to keep its tanks and armored carrier vehicles operational, the 4th Army needs several dozens of thousands of batteries, 11,000 tires, 2,700 trucks, and several hundred buses and vans, as the ones they are currently using are 20 years old.

Besides the shortage in equipment, now they are taking away the army's firing ranges too. A firing range near the town of Turda, spreading over 12,000 hectares, which was in the army's possession before the last world war, is now reduced to merely 2,700 hectares, and that land is also claimed by the inhabitants of an Alba County village. Another firing range in Harghita County, previously used to practice artillery fire in mountain regions, was declared a "natural monument" by local authorities, which also denied the soldiers access to that area. A more serious matter is that they are unable to ensure training for the reserve cadres. According to the law, the army has to pay the called up persons the same amount they earn in their civilian life. However, the army's budget does not provide for such payments, and, if the called up person works for RENEL [Romanian National Electricity Network Corporation], his payment would exceed the salaries of three officers. At the same time the fines to be paid by persons who do not carry out certain military duties amount to merely 24-40 lei.

The crisis currently facing the army is not a new one. It has been going on for 10 years. However, one would expect that the modernization process that began over the past few years in Romania would also include the army structures, its endowment with the necessary means to increase its defense ability. Because being a modern country, which we claim we began to be after our admittance to the Council of Europe and after the signing of the Partnership for Peace with NATO, also presupposes our having a modern army.

One-Day Cease-Fire Agreed Throughout Republic

AU0704172594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Before a more in-depth look at the news of the day, let us listen to the information that we have just obtained from our fax machine, which says:

As the B-H PRESS news agency has learned, an agreement on a one-day cease-fire has been reached with the enemy side this afternoon. [Words indistinct] cease-fire comes in force at 1800 today and refers to the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The aim of this cease-fire is to create, with the mediation of UN Protection Force, the conditions for talks and intensification of the peace [word indistinct].

Gorazde, Bihac Included

AU0704183694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] We have received the following announcement by the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

On 7 April 1994, beginning at 1800, Army General Rasim Delic issued the order to units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on a general cease-fire with the Serbian aggressor's side to last 24 hours. This order ensued as a result of the insistence of the Security Council and Mr. Akashi in order to create necessary conditions for military-political talks with the representatives of the Serbian aggressor. The order issued to the units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina fully implies meeting the demands presented by representatives of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This above all applies to stopping the offensive of the Serbian aggressor's forces on Gorazde and Bihac, which was presented to General Rose and the public during the day.

'Fierce Fighting' in Gorazde

AU0704154194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 7 April carries within its regular 32-minute cast several reports on the situation in the republic.

Enes Musovic reports that "four members of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Internal Commission sent by General Michael Rose, commander of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, arrived in Gorazde this morning in order to see the real situation in the Gorazde region. They immediately went to the lines of separation in order to visit this territory, which has been and still is the venue of fierce fighting between aggressor's forces and Gorazde defenders. As I report, the Drina Valley is shaking with strong explosions. Chetniks have continued shelling all defense lines around the besieged Gorazde as well as the civilian districts. The most recent reports say that a fierce artillery-infantry attack by the mad aggressor on [name indistinct] Kamen and [name indistinct] from the direction of Mesici is under way."

Mirza Aldobasic reports from the zone covered by the 7 South Operations Group that "in the early morning hours, the aggressor attacked the defense lines of the 203d Glorious Doboj-Bosna Motorized Brigade, particularly in the Putnikovo Brdo region. However, it was somehow calmer on other battlefields on these free territories, although on a few occasions the enemy attempted breakthroughs along the defense lines at Crni Vrh."

Studio announcer Arijana Barucija says that "it is somewhat calmer in the zone of the 3d Corps and other battlefields in our country, albeit still with occasional aggressor's activities from infantry weapons and artillery pieces."

'Urgent' Hospital Needs

AU0704201494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpts] You have heard at the beginning of the program what the momentary situation in Gorazde is like. A radio bridge with Gorazde has been organized for foreign and domestic reporters in Sarajevo this afternoon. Our reporter Mediha Colo listened to the radio bridge and prepared the following reportage:

[Begin recording] [Colo] Riad Rasic, president of the Gorazde district assembly; Esad Orhanovic, president of the Gorazde district executive council; and Alija Begovic, director of the Gorazde war hospital, were answering the questions of domestic and foreign reporters via radio link. Riad Rasic, president of the Gorazde district assembly, gave a brief [word indistinct] of the latest situation in Gorazde. [passage omitted]

[Rasic] The situation is also difficult in the hospital, regarding the number of beds, accommodation space, lack of medication, and so forth. At 0800, that is to say, from the beginning of the offensive until 0800 this morning 67 people have died and 325 have been injured. Of these, 10 were children and 19 women and older people, while 38 children and 49 women have been injured. [passage omitted]

[Colo] One of the reporters' questions referred to the critical line on the right bank of the Drina River in the vicinity of Vidkovic and the aggressor's current intentions.

[Rasic] Yes, the lines have been consolidated a little there and most probably we will hear better news from Gorazde. Ferocious battles are being fought in that direction and our defenders are holding well, therefore, we can expect better news from that part, which is the only [word indistinct] at this moment, as all other lines are holding (?extremely) well. [passage omitted]

[Colo] Alija Begovic, director of the Gorazde hospital, answered questions about the situation in the Gorazde

war hospital. Dr. Begovic said the following about the most urgent requirements of the Gorazde hospital:

[Begovic] In brief, we need sanitary articles, [word indistinct] material, gauze, bandages, and powerful analgesics. Regarding [word indistinct], also surgical implements, string, certain substances to stop bleeding such as [word indistinct] or similar. We have not had oxygen for a year and a half almost, we had it only at the beginning for a short while. Therefore, we do not even have oxygen for [word indistinct] and, therefore, I cannot even talk about this. We more or less have the most basic antibiotics, therefore, we (?need more sophisticated) antibiotics for bone infections and so forth, we lack this. Then, [words indistinct] in the present situation when there is a great number of injuries. Otherwise, we suffer constant shortages of medication for chronic patients, for example, eye patients with glaucoma, for patients with diseases of the thyroid gland, patients in need of cancer therapy, and so forth.

Regarding blood plasma, we have not received any. However, since we have a marvelous response of volunteer blood donors, mostly women, who at any moment... [pauses] It has not happened yet that we would not have enough of any blood type, therefore, we more or less supplement blood with blood and we use very little blood plasma. Actually, at the beginning when we had some we used it for a while but now not any more.

I must say that the number of medical staff in Gorazde has been cut down to a third of that before the war, therefore, far below the requirements. The scope and the type of work [words indistinct]. There never was a hospital, a surgical department, and this secondary aspect of medical care here. There are really very few physicians and we all do three or four jobs at once.

[Colo] According to the information that we have obtained via the radio bridge, the latest offensive at Gorazde resulted in the number of refugees in this town increasing by 2,000. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Civilians Killed in Bihac

LD0704215094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Five people were killed and 30 wounded, among them two pregnant women and several children, in the shelling of the Bihac area today. The town and its surrounding areas were shelled three times during the day. The material damage is vast. Hundreds of mortar and howitzer shells fell on the positions of the defenders on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau and in Grabez. The attacks intensified in the afternoon.

The attacks by paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy also continued throughout the day. They fired on the Cazin villages of Privala, [place name indistinct] and Cajici, using mortars and antitank weapons. There were several casualties.

Army Sets Conditions for Cease-Fire

LD0704224294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] In connection with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] reports concerning the possibility of a meeting between representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Serb aggressor side under the chairmanship of General Michael Rose, the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has been authorized to issue the following statement:

1. In order that talks on a general cease-fire between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Serb aggressor side can start it is vital that the Serb aggressor side immediately stop all offensive actions against the towns of Gorazde and Bihac, which have been proclaimed protected areas by the UN Security Council.

2. The Serb aggressor formations should return to their starting positions, which they held on 3 March this year when they launched an offensive against Gorazde.

3. In order that talks with representatives of the Serb aggressor side can begin it is necessary to have clearly defined political prerequisites which guarantee the continued political process of resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem as a whole.

4. Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, led by Army General Rasim Delic, are ready at any time to have talks with representatives of the UNPROFOR and with other international organizations concerning the situation in Gorazde or in any other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Gen. Rose was told this during his talks today with Army Gen. Delic, the statement issued by the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reads.

Mladic Sets Conditions

AU0704144694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Report by Marica Lalovic from Pale]

[Text] The talks between the military commanders of the Serbian and the Muslim sides—General Ratko Mladic and [B-H Army Commander General] Rasim Delic—which were scheduled to take place at Sarajevo airport yesterday, have not started yet. The mediator in the talks, which should result in the signing of a cease-fire agreement, today held talks with General Mladic and conveyed to him the new demands posed by the Muslim side. Namely, General Rose reported that Rasim Delic was making his arrival to the airport and the talks conditional upon the withdrawal of the Serbian army from all the positions around Gorazde to the lines held prior to the outbreak of the latest clashes.

General Mladic warned UN Protection Force Commander General Rose not to accept any conditions for talks and said that only an instantaneous halt of all

combat activities on all the separating lines in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina can be discussed.

Mladic: Muslims Backing 'War Option'

LD0704214294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, chief of general staff of the Srpska republic army, said that he held two separate and very useful talks with General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, this evening.

In a statement for the Serb Sarajevo Radio, Gen. Mladic did not give any details of the talks, but said that "on the whole everything boils down to the fact that the Muslims do not want to sign an agreement to end of hostilities."

Mladic did not wish to comment on the present situation in the areas in which Muslim units launched an offensive. He said that the Muslims had smuggled units from central Bosnia into the area toward Gorazde and that it is obvious they are backing the war option.

Ambassador to UN Views Cease-Fire

LD0804105994 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Interview with Muhamed Sacirbey, Bosnian ambassador to the United Nations, in New York, by Zeinab Badawi in London on 7 April—recorded; from the "Channel 4 News" program]

[Text] [Badawi] Why does it seem that it is the Bosnian Government that is now holding up the peace talks?

[Sacirbey] I'm afraid the whole issue here isn't any more talks; we've had over a hundred cease-fires called for in Bosnia. We have still one town that is under severe attack by Serbian forces. Those forces have refused to allow General Rose to go into that town, and I'm afraid that until in fact they stop there attacks on Goradze, there is no assurance that Serbians are any more serious about this cease-fire than any other. It seems that every time someone utters the words cease-fire the whole world thinks that means magic, that all of a sudden we have peace. There is an opportunity for the Serbian forces to prove their goodwill in Goradze; they have failed to do so. They have said countless times that they will stop the attacks on the city; they have not. That is really the issue here.

[Badawi] But your real concern therefore, Mr Sacirbey, is that by signing a cease-fire now you may freeze Serbian lines as they stand now?

[Sacirbey] That is of course a real issue and a real concern for us, but it doesn't do us any good to sign cease-fire agreements if in fact the attacks continue. Why should we give the Serbians any more public relations ammunition in meeting their calls or their demands for cease-fires, when in fact they have no intention of honoring cease-fires. And I must also say I find it rather disappointing that the agenda this time, as in almost any other case, is being set by the Serbian forces. General Rose had in fact stated that he was going to go to Goradze; the Security Council had endorsed his trip to Goradze. The next day the Serbian forces prevented him going to Goradze and Serbian forces then called upon him to hold a meeting at Sarajevo airport and he agreed. Are we now having the Serbian forces setting the agenda, are they in fact going to tell not only the Bosnian's but the United Nations, a British general, what is the next process that we are to undertake to reach peace in Bosnia?

[Badawi] But if you want the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw to the positions that they held 10 days ago, you're not talking about a cease-fire, you're actually talking about maps again and that's only decided on the ground, not at the negotiating table?

[Sacirbey] Those are not maps. That is a boundary for Goradze established by the UN as a safe area. It has nothing to do with maps. It has to do with the safety of the town; it has to do with the demand of the UN established over a year ago as to how that safe area would be defined in terms of what kind of positions the Serbians could maintain outside of that area.

[Badawi] But as General Rose has said, we have to have a cease- fire before the political process can begin.

[Sacirbey] Well we agree, except there is no cease-fire in Goradze and it's he himself that has called for the cease-fire and we request that he go to Goradze to ensure in fact that the cease- fire is maintained. Obviously, he is being prevented by Serbian forces from doing so and until there is a cease-fire in Goradze, we don't see any use to talk about any broader cease-fire in the rest of Bosnia.

[Badawi] Mr Sacirbey, the cynical mind could say that since the Bosnian Government forces are doing rather well in the north of Bosnia, that it is not in the Bosnian Government's interest to talk peace now.

[Sacirbey] We have opened the doors for peace; we have reached an agreement with the Croatians and obviously we look for the Serbs to come in and speak of peace with us of a federation, of a sharing of power. On the other hand, they continue to insist not only on the partitioning of our country, but the continued ethnic cleansing of our population in places like Prijedor and Banja Luka. I'm afraid the cynical mind that you're speaking about has been far behind the times. The process in Bosnia the Serbs have started, the ethnic cleansing, the genocide, continues and I'm afraid that any further talk of cease-fires is not going to accomplish much until the Serbians in fact show their goodwill in places like Goradze, in places like Prijedor, in places like Banja Luka.

[Badawi] There was talk earlier today that the truce talks could resume in Sarajevo tomorrow, is that not now the case?

[Sacirbey] They certainly can, but the question is will in fact they stop their attack on Goradze. I spoke to the people in Goradze only an hour ago and I was told that, in fact, Serbians had continued their assault and had broken into some of the suburbs, including the suburb of (Visca Vicha). From our perspective obviously we're very far away from any substantive talks, from any good faith talks on a cease-fire.

Izetbegovic, Rose Discuss Situation

LD0704221194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received General Michael Rose, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and General Rasim Delic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina army commander, were present at the talks.

The difficult situation in Gorazde, the town which has been under a strong offensive by the Serb aggressor for over a week, was discussed. Gen. Rose was asked to do everything within his powers to bring an end to the offensive and to have the aggressor's army return to its pre-31 March positions.

It is expected that Gen. Rose will again hold talks with President Izetbegovic tomorrow after his talks with representatives of the aggressor's side.

UNPROFOR Reports Cease-Fire Failed

AU0804125594 Paris AFP in English 1226 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 8 (AFP)—Fierce fighting kept up Friday [8 April] in the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde as a 24-hour ceasefire failed to take hold in Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN spokesman and Serb reports said.

Charles Redman, the special US envoy for ex-Yugoslavia, arrived in Sarajevo Friday to try to help efforts to reach an overall ceasefire agreement, a UN spokesman said.

The 24-hour truce was to have started Thursday evening and cover all remaining battlefronts in Bosnia.

But "there has been no real ceasefire in Gorazde, the shelling has continued," said UN spoksman Major Rob Annink Friday, as both Sarajevo radio and the TANJUG news agency in Belgrade reported new fighting there Friday.

Redman immediately held talks with General Michael Rose, who was to meet again Friday with Bosnian and Serb military leaders to present them with a new ceasefire proposal, according to a UN spokesman who would not give any details on its contents.

Rose spent Thursday trying to get the Bosnian and Serb generals, Rasim Delic and Ratko Mladic, to the negotiating table, notably to stop the Serb offensive around Gorazde in eastern Bosnia that has left 67 dead and 325 injured among the population in nine days.

After shuttling back and forth between Sarajevo and Serb-controlled Lukavica, Rose had announced the two sides agreed in principle to a 24-hour cooling-off period that was to have started at 6:00 p.m. Thursday.

But the truce was immediately violated and the sitaution in Gorazde "remains tense," according to the UN Protection Force which since Thursday has 13 military observers and liaison officers in Gorazde.

Redman meanwhile was due to meet Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic later Friday, a Bosnian Government source said. The U.S. envoy would then head on to the Serb stronghold of Pale just west [as received] of Sarajevo before returning to Belgrade.

Annink, the UN spokesman, said Friday that Serb forces were about five or six kilometers (three to four miles) from the center of Gorazde and were using smokescreens to camouflage their movements. [passage omitted]

Annink, meanwhile, said that Serb forces had captures "less territory than we thought" around Gorazde and now controlled about five percent of the enclave, in its southeastern sector.

He said they had penetrated an area about three kilometers (1.8 miles) deep and about 10 kilometers (six miles) wide into the enclave.

This differed with a report, seen by journalists, by military observers in Gorazde dated last Tuesday saying the mainly Moslem Bosnian Army had lost 10 percent of the enclave and that the front line was only three kilometers from the center of Gorazde.

Sarajevo, Gorazde Attacked

AU0804095394

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 8 April carries in its regular 8-minute newscast several reports on the continued fighting in the republic.

Correspondent Sead Custovic from the 1st Corps Information Service, says that "by [word indistinct] shelling the urban areas of Sarajevo the Chetniks have only added to the long list of violations of the cease-fire agreed upon in this area some (?50) days ago. The population of Kosevo, Kosevsko Brdo, Breka, Pionirska Dolina, and Blekin Potok had a sleepless night as Trombion grenades and rockets from portable launchers showered these districts. It was a return to the grimmest days of the war and confirmed that Karadzic's rabble—who

have violated every single peace agreement—do indeed belong in the hall of fame of criminals. The everyday provocations from all types of weaponry, which often result in the wounding of citizens, clearly indicates what the aims and desires of the (?aggressor) are. The anemic reactions of the UN Protection Force in the face of civilian casualties and the shelling of residential areas encourages the aggressor to increase and intensify his activities and expand his arsenal. The cease-fire agreement reached yesterday has not deterred the criminals' artillery and snipers, who are doggedly beating a path straight to the international Court of Justice in The Hague. The morning is deceptively calm, and that is why caution should be exercised when moving around the city."

Gorazde correspondent Enes Musovic reports that "in the course of the alleged cease-fire between us and the aggressor side, the Chetniks have continued their bloody march toward the encircled Gorazde. They have never before perpetrated such fierce and deadly attacks on the innocent population and refugees. The result of this rampage is five killed and nine gravely wounded people. Therefore, Gorazde is paying an extremely high price for its number one spot on the international media listings. In addition to the chemical agents used yesterday in the village of Vitkovici, the Chetniks also attempted to break through the defense lines in several places with combined artillery and infantry attacks. The situation was also extremely grave overnight on the right bank of the Drina River. From Nisan to Uhodici [words indistinct] heavy Chetnik artillery. The aggressor also attempted to infiltrate a terrorist group [passage indistinct], taking out their fury on (?local) women and old people. This was particularly pronounced in Ogleceva and in the villages of Zamedjedi, Gojcevici, and Surovik situated in the wider region of Ustipraca. The population of these villages is fleeing in panic toward the town."

Reporting from Bihac, correspondent Mirza Sadikovic says that "[words indistinct] in the Bihac commune, where the victims continue to be mostly civilians. In the past 24 hours, six people have been killed, while 33 were slightly or severely wounded. Karadzic's terrorists continued to destroy buildings and communication links in Bihac and the Cazin outskirts. The intensity of the [Serb] attacks abated somewhat overnight, but the paramilitary forces of the so-called Kladusa autonomy intensified their attacks on all the demarcation lines. Artillery and infantry attacks were carried out in and around Krivaja and Gajici in the Cazin commune, and [name indistinct] in the Velika Kladusa commune. After midnight, the areas of (?Kosovo) and (?Pecingrad) were relentlessly shelled."

An unidentified correspondent from the 4th Corps Press Center reports that "the main characteristic of the day [7 April] in the 4th Corps' theater of operations [in the Mostar area] was the mutual observance of the cease-fire between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on all fronts. However, the forces of the Serbian aggressor were active in Sector North. The past 24 hours on the defense lines of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army and in residential areas in regions in and around (?Zdjelinic) and Glavaticevo were marked by Chetnik small arms' and antiaircraft machine gun provocations. The evacuation of bodies of the HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army did not go ahead as planned, but was postponed for today [8 April] at 1500. The announced visit of General Rose to the 4th Corps has also been postponed, most probably owing to the critical situation and the continuing Serb aggression on Gorazde."

Serbs Gain South of Gorazde

LD0704132394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Cajnice, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—After the seven-day Muslim offensive on the Gorazde battlefield was completely crushed, units of the Herzegovina Corps [of the Srpska army] launched a counterattack which began on Tuesday afternoon and penetrated deep into Muslim territory. Last night they reached the river Drina near Vitkovici, 4 kilometers south of Gorazde.

According to a statement of the command of the united Serb forces, the last Muslim units are being driven out of the Oglecevo area, which consists of a dozen villages, and it is only a question of time before the area is completely liberated.

"The continuing operation in the Cajnice-Foca-Gorazde triangle is of immense importance for the people in that area because it creates conditions for the Serbs to achieve their centuries-old right to live on the river Drina," Colonel Nikola Segrt, member of the command of the united Serb forces, said this morning.

Following a brief lull last night, fierce infantry and artillery battles resumed today in almost all sections of the Gorazde front. In the fighting yesterday, one Herzegovina corps fighter, Miodrag Budjen from Trebinje, was killed and four members of the Serb forces were wounded.

According to the command of the joint Serb units, over 50 members of the forces loyal to Alija Izetbegovic were killed in the battles yesterday; 12 bodies were found in the vicinity of Uhotica Brdo alone.

According to Serb fighters, cries of women and children were heard overnight from Vitkovici. It is believed that the Muslims are in the process of liquidating the remaining Serbs from Gorzade or are forcing them to serve as a shield in their onslaughts on the Herzegovina corps positions. [passage omitted]

TANJUG Reports Muslim Attack

LD0804100994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0859 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Cajnice, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—The command of the Srpska republic army's Herzegovina corps this

morning said in a statement that heavy fighting had continued over the last 24 hours in the area of Oglecevo, Vitkovici [near Gorazde] and Donja Potkozara.

The same source says that a strong attack by the Muslim army was repelled last night in the area of Krizevci, in the immediate vicinity of Gorazde. [passage omitted]

Over the last 24 hours the frequency of NATO flights at very low altitude over the area of Gorazde, Cajnice, and Foca, where the fighting has been under way for 11 days, has increased, the statement says.

Reinforcements in groups of 30 or 40 soldiers, specially trained in sabotage and terrorist activities, are being sent to the Muslim army in Gorazde from central Bosnia, Serb military sources say.

The fate of some 700 Serbs trapped in Gorazde is increasingly uncertain, in the light of the fact that they are being used by the Muslims as a shield for Muslim soldiers who are being forcibly sent to the front line, the statement says.

Karadzic Threatens Counteroffensive

LD0704144894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Trebinje, 7 April (TANJUG)—Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic said in Trebinje today that he was increasingly optimistic and hopeful of a speedy and peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic bases his modest optimism on the fact that, as he said, the orientation toward peace has prevailed in the world and also because of the superiority of the Srpska army.

Karadzic added that the Muslim side would eventually have to sit at the negotiating table because it cannot achieve anything on the battlefield.

The international community is tired of the war and is afraid of a Balkan war, Karadzic said addressing journalists.

In connection with the situation in Gorazde, Karadzic said that the Serb side had earlier warned of the planned Muslim spring offensive, saying that it would respond with all available forces.

If the Muslims do not stop attacking, we will launch a counteroffensive and then let the Security Council save them, Karadzic said in Trebinje where he inaugurated the festival of Ducic's Evenings of Poetry. He was presented the festival's award.

Lasic Defends Croatian Policy in Bosnia

94BA0224A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 94 pp 12-13

[Interview with Miro Lasic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by Ivan Sabic; place and date not given: "'If We Do Not Want an Agreement, We Will Have War'"]

[Text] *Miro Lasic never submitted his resignation as a member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and therefore legally he can still be considered a member of that body, although another person has been named to that position. In addition, Lasic is one of those who revived Napredak (Progress), the Croatian cultural society, he is president of the Croatian Intellectual Forum, cochairman of the Croatian Section of the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM), and before the war he was director of the Sarajevo theater festival MES for a number of years. So it is not difficult to find a topic for conversation with him. Nevertheless, we restricted ourselves to the political present and future of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

[Sabic] "Well-informed sources" have been talking for a long time now about world (U.S.) pressure on the Croatian and Muslim side to revive the alliance between these two peoples who are victims of the aggression of Serbian expansionism. It can now be said that the pressure has borne fruit. Did the Muslims and Croats have to get in a situation of being subjected to pressure?

[Lasic] We are in a historical situation in which the international community has an interest in a Croato-Muslim alliance. We are well aware that the armed conflict between the Muslims and Croats was artificially stimulated and provoked in a dirty way. Without going into all the reasons on this occasion, both sides were involved in bringing about the conflict: The Muslim fault, 70 percent of the total, came from the central government, and the Croatian fault, representing 30 percent, was manifested at the peripheral level. Almost the same proportions, but in reverse, occurred during the lengthy period of the peace initiative. "Offers" of peace were issued from the Croatian Supreme Command and from the Muslim peripheral level.

So, the sporadic and local conflicts occurred through the Croatian fault, but the all-out war, such as was waged in the Lasva Valley, occurred because of the strategic moves and decisions of the Muslim leadership. It now seems that even in the Muslim General Staff they have finally committed themselves to accepting the Croatian peace initiative, and we should expect the disagreements to be resolved around a green baize table instead of on the battlefield. Now, just as in the past, the key is in the hands of the Muslim leadership.

The Option of Contact Did Not Die

[Sabic] Did the United States necessarily have to become involved for the Croats and Muslims to agree?

[Lasic] U.S. policy did not need to use any pressure at all on the Croatian side. All we needed was for our position to be understood, and when that finally occurred, there was the first constructive result, the preliminary agreement with the Bosnian Muslims. What is more, the Americans did not put anything together by force, but they precisely noted the most favorable realistic opportunities, and they could be recognized and read in Croatian policy.

Let us not forget, even in the worst moments of the conflict with the Muslims there were always flickering options of contact and possible agreement, a process was taking place in the background with attempts to resolve the crisis and revive the alliance, which Franjo Boras was persistently initiating in the Presidency, but without a real response. The Americans were certainly well aware of that, and I would not say it was a question of their dictate, but of their understanding and correct orientation—to which their skillful ambassador, Victor Jackovich, I believe, also contributed. That is essential for us, because this is the most powerful force in the world, and it opened up for Croatian efforts and Croatian policy an immediate occasion for application and realization.

[Sabic] Many people are inclined to say that a change of direction occurred in Croatian policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina. Do you agree with that assessment, and to what extent?

[Lasic] Croatian state policy is conducted in an unbroken continuity, and those "many people" are just "some people," specifically those who talk about this and judge it either from a lack of understanding and misconception or out of some petty political interest of their own. The Croatian national objective has always been peace. Aggression and war were imposed on the Croats, both in Croatia and also in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Defense, which was a grave necessity, implies both counteroffensives and various tactical moves. One cannot always go in a straight line. Even back in Lisbon in February of 1992 during Muslim, Serb, and Croat talks, I set forth views which were verified in the center and supported by President Tudjman, and mostly they have been taken over in the present preliminary agreement between the Croats and Bosnian Muslims. The effective instructions of President Tudjman were never directed at any point toward the breakup of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I can personally testify to that. Of course, on every occasion he explicitly called for the protection of all the Croats and the Croatian interest.

The Croatian Defense Council Was a Lightning Rod

In March 1992, the Serbs established authority by hook or by crook over a large part of the territory, and the Muslims imposed their hegemony more and more wherever they could. Some of our political leaders hesitated and gave in to foreign domination out of opportunism. In April 1992, Mate Boban, with the help of the center, organized the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] as a defensive energy, as a lightning rod for the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The creation of Herceg-Bosna as a part of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina occurred when the HVO, in a period of grave crisis, in a balance of armament and strength of the armed forces that can be said to have been disastrous for the Croats, was defending undefined territory and organizing life under wartime conditions. The Muslims, the worst victims of aggression, were getting extensive and unselfish humanitarian, logistical, and armed aid from the Croatian people, which was itself threatened. Herceg-Bosna thus became a provisional historical fact, a symbol and reality of Croatian defense, and that is beyond dispute. There is something wrong with the Croatism of anyone who does not see and recognize that.

What kind of policy and whose (Croatian) policy deserves the credit for the Croats finally having become an important principal with an internationally recognized decisive role? Everyone knows the answer, and perhaps that is precisely what has caused the frustration and paranoic reactions of those "many people" who have seen the lines of the battlefields only on the map. As the popular saying goes: Where were they during the thunder and lightning?

[Sabic] When Bosnia and Herzegovina is discussed, people inevitably talk about the peoples who live in it living together. One often hears that these nationalities have been condemned to live together, but also that life together is no longer possible after all that has happened. Which of these assertions is closer to the truth?

[Lasic] When you talk about life together today—that is a great dilemma. The impression that life together could still be revived and preserved comes from historical inertia, because everyone is in trouble, all the nationalities want peace, the world wants peace, and it is almost certain that the invective of war and the fateful tensions could cease in Bosnia if they could all finally understand one another. If we do not want an agreement, we will have war. Regardless of the injustices during the period of communism, when every nationality was neglected and frustrated—but the Croats constantly and most of all—this bloody war certainly would not have occurred had it not been for Serbian expansionism and intervention from outside for conquest.

The principle of living together in Bosnia has had various manifestations and arrangements of human relations. That would have prevented this dirty war, and that is beyond any doubt, but war was imported into Bosnia. Indeed even the drastically altered conditions that resulted in two nationalities being crammed together in a tight space—65 percent of the population on 30 percent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina—could not have caused major armed conflicts, although that fact did create tensions. In other words, even under the impossible conditions coexistence among the nationalities, in particular between the Croats and Muslims, victims of the same aggression, could have been maintained through goodwill and mutual respect for each other's interests.

[Sabic] Can it be said that you are an optimist concerning the final Croato-Muslim agreement that is to follow after the preliminary agreement?

[Lasic] I cannot speak for the Muslim side. The Croats, one can confidently say, accept the agreement generally as the result of the Croatian peace initiative.

An Open Appeal to the Third Nationality

[Sabic] If all the documents from the negotiations in Washington and Vienna are adopted, what has to be done?

[Lasic] I think that a temporary transitional government must immediately be set up to conduct the affairs of state on the basis of the agreement until the next democratic election, which would be in a period of one or two years, i.e., until the safe return of the displaced persons and refugees. Officials should be appointed by the legal political parties in the proportions in which they obtained ethnic legitimacy in the last election: For the Croats, this is the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], which took 94 percent of the Croatian seats in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and all 100 percent in the Presidency.

[Sabic] You mention elections, but still they are far away. But that is a question of democratic procedure, and this must be put on the "agenda" sooner or later.

[Lasic] Electoral procedure is one of the decisive issues. Each nationality should elect its own representatives. Otherwise, because the balance between the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is 72:28, the Croats would get "representatives" who in both practice and theory would in every respect be determined by someone else and not they themselves. That is the case in Sarajevo today. Which means ethnic voter lists must be drawn up. Incidentally, that is one of the virtues of the Vienna negotiations, which, according to the reports, are going favorably, which means in the interest of both nationalities.

[Sabic] Many people familiar with Bosnia and Herzegovina are ready to say that the prospects are not good when two of the three nationalities in it reach agreement independently of the third. Can that rule also be applied to the Croato-Muslim preliminary agreement? Are there prospects for the Serbs to join the agreement as well?

[Lasic] The opportunities of joining are open to them, because the preliminary agreement has been drafted in such a way that an open appeal to the Serbs is implied in its context. If we are to judge by the public signals of Serbian policy, at least for now there are no prospects of the Serbs, as an ethnic entity, entering the federal arrangements and confederal relations with the Bosnian Muslims and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We should not forget that the Serbs carried out aggression and they are still behaving aggressively. But we should be mindful that the agreement between the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims alters the political reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina, toward which the Serbs, like it or not, must take a position and define their policy.

In other words, they will not be able to behave as though nothing had happened, and things do not happen in a vacuum, but in a world context, so that it is logical to expect the consent of the world, of the United States and Russia first of all, to a solution that would not be the temporary situation of a temporary truce, but the firm foundation of a lasting peace.

[Sabic] This crucial time is being marked by meetings of the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There have been particularly significant meetings in Sarajevo on 6 February and in Livno on 8 February. These and other meetings indicate that the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina should rally around a policy which will be viewed as their joint program. But the approaches and points of departure differ. Who is right?

[Lasic] In the present reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, viewed in isolation, it is absolutely certain that all the Croats, that is, the representatives of the Croatian people, from all the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are right. There are causes and reasons which brought the Croats to a historical impasse precisely now when they are waging a decisive struggle for the natural right of Croats in their native country of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But we must not omit from our thinking that a right can result in harm to the person seeking it if the scope of that right does not offer a future. And the future of Croats and of their right in Bosnia and Herzegovina can only be the entire Croatian interest, and here that entirety for us Croats is based on the outlook, security, and strength of the state of Croatia.

Was It a Case of "Petty Folklore"?

[Sabic] Is the expected reconciliation with the Muslims a reflection of our inability—either because we were not strong enough or because of the inhibiting force of the world community—to resolve the situation "in the field"?

[Lasic] There is no real historical chance of reviving concord between the Croats and Muslims, nor of finding a modus vivendi with the Muslims, but also with the Serbs, and achieving an authentic agreement, if we are disunited and weak. Every Croat must keep that in mind. The alliance with the Bosnian Muslims does not assume that we are weak and would therefore enter into an alliance and back off from legitimate Croatian policy. In that case, we would not be equal, but we would be in a subordinate position. Our strength is great, but the more united we are, the greater that strength.

[Sabic] If that is so, that means that the alliance with the Bosnian Muslims is a thrust that comes from our increased strength.

[Lasic] Right. We can enter into an alliance with the Bosnian Muslims, under the final agreement, in two ways: forced because we are weak or oriented because we

are strong and united. This is one of the historical moments which every Croat must recognize. This is, after all, everyone's personal destiny as well. For example, if all the Croats in Sarajevo were put ad hoc into positions of power in the government of the Bosnian Muslims, there would be no guarantee of their fate. It would be up to someone else, just as is the case today of the Croats who out of the kindness of the Muslim leaders are part of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo or are organizing "rallies" there.

Without a guarantee of the Croatian entity, the Croats as individuals, and also as groups, have no future whatsoever. This does not mean that we should not understand the vital necessity and human attempt to do something to make that position easier. That is why that meeting in Sarajevo should be seen as a real reflex on the part of those 300, or more precisely 306, people who attended out of the 35,000 Sarajevo Croats. In principle, if procedure is respected, and that means legitimacy, support should be given to the effort for the Croats to meet, to become stronger, to enter into association, to study and inquire into their possibilities.

[Sabic] You and the writer Andjelko Vuletic were unable to take part in the meeting in Sarajevo. Ivan Lovrenovic, one of the organizers of the Sarajevo meeting, recently declared in an interview that preventing your coming to Sarajevo was "petty folklore." What actually happened?

[Lasic] That is well-known to the organizers of the Sarajevo meeting; in the end, they stood behind that. Only one of them, Ivan Lovrenovic, used the phrase "petty folklore over everything" to describe the effort to keep away those political Croats who by all parameters which they themselves have proclaimed should have been on the list, present and active. The only thing Lovrenovic, as is evident from his statement, was afraid of was that no one from the Muslim government would come to the meeting—and he knew, in "consultation" with Ivo Komsic, back in Zagreb, not only who would come, but also where they would sit and what they would say. The news about the unprecedented incident, in which even the Croatian ambassador, Dr. Zdravko Sancevic, was also held back, which Lovrenovic refers to as a mystification, traveled around the world.

Our ignoramus does not mention that this provoked negative comments and marked the entire Sarajevo meeting as a totalitarian ruse of proven advocates of their own exclusive doctrine. The people on the program for that meeting did not include any new names, new people, those who authentically suffered, but mainly those who in the democratic election did not win the confidence of the people for their policy, and so they are attempting to "fish in muddy waters," using real troubles in their manipulation. That is nothing new. This is familiar ground. The sad thing is that a Croatian intellectual, a writer, should pretend not to know what the suspension of democratic procedure means and where it leads. The real issue was not whether particular people could take part, but the procedure itself, and Western civilization is based on procedure, at least that is well-known.

[Sabic] And in the end, how close are we to peace or far from it?

[Lasic] Peace must be closer and closer to us. If we are to favorably regulate our relations with the other two nationalities, the Bosnian Muslims and Serbs, in a truly civilized way, in a possible reconciliation of interests, because only this can be lasting, we must be strong, and that means united. That is the sense in which one should understand the gist of President Tudjman's policy and his vision of the entirety of the Croatian interest. Croatian state policy, which is legally and legitimately, by the political will of the Croatian people, conducted by President Tudjman, must under wartime conditions be valid for every Croatian patriot and conducted in a unified fashion.

Our point of departure must be the historical imperative, which is that we do everything we can so that we Croats, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in general, are unified so that each individual, with his pledge to that unity, has his own prospects for resolving his own crucial issues in the entirety of the general interest of the Croatian people.

The Traps in the Washington Agreement

[Sabic] What is your view of the preliminary agreement? Is there a trap concealed in it?

[Lasic] The preliminary agreement is a superbly drafted legal document. From the standpoint of constitutional theory and practice, in particular there are two critical points for me. The legislative body with two chambers—the House of Representatives and the Chamber of Nationalities—copies the model of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. In the House of Representatives, which might be superfluous in the federal interethnic state community at the highest level, where there are only two principals representing two nationalities, the membership is made up on the formula "one man one vote." The Bosnian Muslims will always have a more than two-thirds majority—72 percent—so that by the nature of things the Croats would always be in a minority if there should be a difference of views. It is good that a correction has been envisaged in the Chamber of Nationalities.

But the function of the latter chamber must be defined precisely. If at the highest level of the state we are to achieve ethnic reciprocity of rights in all institutions with government prerogatives, the constituent nationalities, regardless of numbers, must have equal rights. Unless absolute parity is pursued in the legislative, judicial, or executive branches, I see a danger in that one ethnic majority could be set against the other ethnic minority. That could become a generator of tension and conflict.

The longevity and stability of the federation are guaranteed only by parity, consensus, and every office open to change. Another critical point might be the provision on the central government, where parity is also essential. This is an institution familiar from the Belgian Constitution (the Council of Ministers consists of an equal number of ministers representing the French and Flemish languages). But, as Dr. Mate Granic, who headed the Croatian delegation in Washington, has stated, every agreement presupposes reconciliation of views, i.e., compromises. In the interest of the federation and its future, I believe that it would be worthwhile for our side and the side of the Bosnian Muslims to envisage certain institutions that would eliminate the possibility of ethnic confrontation in both practice and theory.

[Sabic] Negotiations are being conducted in Vienna concerning the constitution of the federation. What might arise as a problem in the wording of the constitution?

[Lasic] A big job was done with the signing of the preliminary agreement in Washington. Nevertheless, the constitution is the fundamental document of the state, and one must show maximum caution. Dr. Ivo Sanader, who heads the Croatian delegation at the negotiations in Vienna, said that the territorial arrangement is perhaps the most difficult problem. Every Croat who lives on "problematical" territory will agree with Dr. Sanader. The duty to undo the knots which have been tied for almost an entire century has fallen to our generation. Let us start with the first level of government—the opstina. In territorial terms, the opstina arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina was done to suit the holders of power at the time, in the sixties, so perfidiously as to make the Croats a minority wherever possible. The borders of the opstinas and kotars that came down from Austro-Hungary were altered in minute detail and with the same objective back in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

For instance, Mostar is frequently referred to as a community in which the Muslims have the majority—about 44,000 Muslims, it is said, as against 42,500 Croats—that is a difference of 1 percent on behalf of the Muslims. That is a striking half-truth, because those figures apply to opstina territory. In the actual city of Mostar, according to the official 1991 Census, which is the most unfavorable to the Croats, there are about 27,000 Muslims and 31,000 Croats. But on one side a locality inhabited by Muslims was added to Mostar Opstina, while another with 100-percent Croatian population was taken away.

The example of Dobretici, where there are 4,500 Croats, today driven from their century-old homes, is also significant. By administrative decision, Dobretici was annexed to Skender Vakuf Opstina, with which it does not even have direct highway links. If Dobretici had been in Travnik or Jajce Opstinas, the Croats would have an absolute majority, as they did before. There are several such examples: Derventa, for instance. If new/old opstina boundaries that are fair should be established, we would have a territorial situation much more favorable to us.

Mostar Opens Checkpoint for Civilian Crossings

AU0704192894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpts] There is some good news in Mostar today. A checkpoint has finally been opened for civilians to pass from one part of town to another and the work on normalizing the town infrastructure has begun. Here is a report by our Mostar correspondent Omer Vatric:

[Begin Vatric recording] This day will be remembered in Mostar by the first meetings of family members and friends at the town line of separation, at which only bullets and shells were meeting for a full 11 months. On two occasions, 50 Mostar people from the eastern and 50 from the western part of the town met at the crossroads in front of the burnt-down Hit department store. They were coming in groups of 25 and had two hours to tell about their pain, fear, and hope. [passage omitted] New groups of citizens should meet tomorrow as well as the next day.

The citizens of Donja Mahala, Semovac, and Sermica will remember this day because the water came back. Water authorities say that, in conformity with agreements reached with the Croatian Defense Council, these districts will get drinking water after more than nine months. Unfortunately, the entire left bank [of the Neretva] will remain without water in the coming days, and the entire eastern part of Mostar will remain without electricity. Constant talks about the implementation of the Washington agreement and implementing the agreed federation bring hope that all of Mostar will have water and electricity soon and that the building of bridges and a general normalization of life will begin. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Health Minister on Undernourishment, Epidemics

AU0704201394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Interview with Professor Mustafa Beganovic, health minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Senada Cumurovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Cumurovic] World Health Day and the 70th anniversary of the Health Protection Institute of Bosnia-Herzegovina are being marked this year under grave living conditions. Professor Beganovic, can you tell us about the health situation of the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Beganovic] This situation is rather grave. There is undernourishment. There are epidemics of infectious diseases, although they have not been widely spread, they have not grown into pandemics. For that, we can, above all, thank our people, who know how to maintain

hygiene even under such conditions and also thank our medical staff who are making efforts and [words indistinct] to help people as much as possible. [passage omitted]

In this free part of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we have about 70,000 seriously wounded people, a large number of disabled, a large number of paraplegics, a large number of cases of chronic diseases, a large number of cases of psychological disorders, and, generally speaking, we were very rarely able to help and do something for the improvement of health. We were trying to save lives, we were saving elementary health so a person would not die, would survive, and then, with time, we shall try to return him to full health. [passage omitted]

Army Chief, UN Commander Discuss Cease-Fire

LD0704221794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] General Janko Bobetko, Croatian Army chief of general staff, held talks this evening with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commander General Bertrand de Lapresle. They discussed the implementation of the cease-fire agreement, the Washington agreement and UN Security Council resolutions. Gen. Bobetko stressed that he had informed his guest about the fact that Croatia has fulfilled all its tasks, and that there can no longer be any pretexts for the other side not to comply with the agreement.

He mentioned that one such problem is the fact that the Serb side had not withdrawn from one part of the battlefield north of Zemunik, from where the airport in Zemunik can be targeted. Another concrete problem is that a Jasenovac-bound road remained closed today and therefore a Croatian delegation was unable to lay a wreath at the monument there. Gen. Bobetko stressed that Gen. de Lapresle had promised him that UNPROFOR would insist with the Serb side that they resolve these problems.

Gen. de Lapresle said that he is pleased with the course of the implementation of the cease-fire agreement in Croatia so far, adding that not all the provisions of the agreement have been implemented 100 percent, but that the newly created problems would be resolved by joint committees which had been established for that purpose. He empahized his pleasure at the cooperation with the Croat authorities, saying that he and Gen. Bobetko shared the wish that the cease-fire agreement should be implemented, which is a precondition for the second step in the normalization of Croatian-Serb relations—the resolution of economic problems.

The UNPROFOR commander will chair a meeting of a central joint committee in Turanj near Karlovac tomorrow, at which the implementation to date of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement will be examined.

Explosion at Weapons Depot Near Zagreb

LD0704133494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] A general alert has been sounded due to an explosion in the military weapons depot in Duboki Jarak in Sesvete, near Zagreb. Fire raging in one of the warehouses is threatening to spread to other buildings, which could have serious consequences. The residents of Sesvete have, therefore, been urged to go to shelters, and everyone should avoid going to Sesvete—particularly drivers, because roads through Sesvete will be closed. The residents of Dubrava near Sesvete, as well as of the surrounding villages have also been warned to be cautious and not stay in the streets but seek shelter in houses or basements.

Mr. Sindicic, on duty in the Zagreb police station, has confirmed this talking to Gordana Cukon.

[Begin recording] [Sindicic] There have been a series of explosions of stored powder in Duboki Jarak in the Sesvete area, and we are asking residents to move to a safe distance to avoid casualties. Everyone should protect themselves. They should not stay on the road but move to a safe distance. There should be no panic. This is not an attack. The situation is under control, and it will probably (?calm down) in 10 to 20 minutes.

[Correspondent] Have the explosions stopped?

[Sindicic] Not yet, and we cannot estimate when they will stop. When they stop, there will be no more danger. The most important thing is to inform the residents to stay away, not to panic, and that this is not an attack. [end recording]

Casualties Expected

AU0704143494 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 7 (AFP)—A series of explosions ripped through a munitions dump outside the Croatian capital Thursday [7 April], prompting the authorities to place the surrounding suburbs under alert and stop all traffic.

The dump was ablaze and shells were exploding every few seconds, eyewitnesses said. Residents near the munitions depot in Sesvete, about 12 kilometres (seven miles) outside Zagreb, were told to take refuge in bomb-shelters.

There were no immediate reports of casualties but Sesvete police told AFP they expected that people had been injured.

Firemen Unable To Approach Blaze

AU0804122994 Paris AFP in English 1132 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 8 (AFP)—Giant flames licked a munitions dump in the Zagreb suburbs Friday [8 April] a day after massive explosions injured 17 people, and five others were still missing, authorities announced. The explosions stopped at 1:00 a.m. (2300 GMT Thursday), 11 hours after the dump was rocked by a first blast.

Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, who Thursday announced an evacuation order for all residents within a 2.5-kilometre (1.5-mile) radius, said the blasts in the depot in Sesvete, about 12 kilometres (seven miles) outside Zagreb, were a "disaster."

Deputy Defense Minister Josip Juras said he did not rule out sabotage.

Damage was huge but could not be immediately assessed. Firemen were still unable to get near the flames

Friday at noon. Ten buildings near the military facility were destroyed by exploding ammunition and 100 others were damaged.

Fragments of exploding mortars and, according to western experts, probably of ground-to-ground and anti-tank missiles, flew around and even seriously injured a man in a central Zagreb street Thursday. Authorities maintained a general alert but traffic near the dump was reopened.

The numerous blasts opened up a huge crater at the dump which is one of Croatia's biggest.

Valentic on 'Disaster'

AU0704173894 Paris AFP in English 1716 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 7 (AFP)—Croatian authorities Thursday ordered the evacuation of all residents within a 2.5-kilometre (1.5- mile) radius of a major munitions dump licked by giant flames and rocked by five straight hours of explosions.

Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, who announced the evacuation order, dubbed the blasts in the depot in Sesvete, about 12 kilometres (seven miles) outside Zagreb, a "disaster." He said he had no information on casualties but that the government was without news of some of the staff working at the depot.

Valentic, who also announced that a special crisis cabinet had been set up to deal with the emergency, gave no details on the cause of the blast but dismissed the possibility of sabotage.

An AFP reporter at the scene some five hours after the blasts began at 2:00 p.m. said three fires were blazing, sending plumes of smoke into the sky, while shells continued to explode at the depot.

Earlier, shells exploded every few seconds, according to eyewitnesses near the depot and nearby residents were told to take refuge in their cellars and not to panic.

A radio appeal was broadcast calling on the capital's emergency fire service personnel to help deal with the blaze. Sesvete police told AFP they expected people had been injured.

Traffic was stopped in the whole of the surrounding region, and schoolchildren and their teachers abandoned classes to flee the area.

Tudjman Addresses HDZ Session

LD0704192194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] The Croatian Democratic Union's [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] deputies from the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Counties have held a joint session in parliament.

The deputies were addressed by Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian president and the president of the HDZ. The session was attended by members of the ruling party's presidency. Here is the full text of the statement:

In his speech, President Tudjman briefly restated the guidelines of Croatia's foreign policy, in particular in relation to Bosnia-Herzegovina. He stressed that Croatia achieved its present standing in the world—which has never been higher—because the world could see for itself the stability of Croatia's democratic system, to which the HDZ has made the largest contribution, and could also see that Croatia's leadership knew how to coordinate its national and state interests with international interests, and that such a Croatia could be an important and active factor in the creation of the international order in this part of Europe.

As regards the policy relating to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Washington agreement, the president stressed that there had been no U-turns in Croatia's policy, but the policy had consistently taken into consideration interests of the Croat people as a whole and strategic interests of the Croatian state. It is precisely because of this consistent position that the world has accepted Croatia's policy.

The president also said that the reputation and the position that Croatia has acquired in today's world ought to be used for the speedier development of our country in political, economic and cultural spheres.

The case of Josip Manolic was also discussed at the session. Unanimous support was expressed for the policy pursued hitherto by the HDZ under the leadership of President Franjo Tudjman.

In the light of the conclusions adopted at the second HDZ general convention, it was emphasized that the HDZ is a democratic party of the people, which bases its program on the principles of Christian democracy.

RSK President Martic on Relations With Croatia

AU0604113594 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 94 pp 4-6

[Interview with Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Jovo Paripovic; place and date not given: "We Are Asking Nothing of Croatia!"]

[Text] That he changed the camouflage uniform for a suit, put on a tie, entered the preelection race, and then took the chair of president of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina, Milan Martic accounts for by the fact that the "latest elections in the republic of Serbian Krajina were a significant step in actualizing its statehood," but, as in all other elections, "politicians and parties appeared whose ultimate wish was to seize power," which, according to Martic, means that this "desire for power can go beyond the global national interests," which made him avert all this and prevent these "careerists" from seizing power. So much for his

attitude toward the taking of the presidential seat, and as far as concerns the "strategic orientation," which "will never be given up," according to Milan Martic, it is "a historical task, with which the Serbs in the republic of Serbian Krajina should secure the same rights as the Slovenes, Croats, and other nations on the territories of the former Yugoslavia have been given."

Milosevic Is a Politician of International Caliber

[Paripovic] Did the fact that you are Slobodan Milosevic's man, which you admitted yourself, help your "victory" after the elections were repeated?

[Martic] It is correct that I once said I was Slobodan Milosevic's man. That cannot be interpreted as some blind obedience or subjection. I am Slobodan Milosevic's man to the extent to which we are both dedicated to the historical task of establishing Serb national interests. The president of Serbia has become a politician of international caliber, respected by the international factors that participate in the resolving of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Not even the greatest Serb-haters and his opponents can dispute that. Not even opposition leaders, such as Vuk Draskovic, attack Slobodan Milosevic any more, because it is no longer popular even abroad, let alone in Serbia and the republic of Serbian Krajina. My relation toward the president of Serbia is clear, but I think that did not have a crucial impact on the results of the elections.

[Paripovic] How do you account for the sudden change of the voters' decision to your benefit?

[Martic] In the first round my opposing candidate Milan Babic won more votes only because there was no control in that round. In the second round we established the control mechanism and ensured that the voting was regular.

Milan Babic has an extremely bad political rating in Serbia, and this he can primarily ascribe to the tactless actions and statements with which he seriously endangered the unity of the Serb people.

Nothing Behind Knin's Back

[Paripovic] You talk of Babic's bad rating in Serbia, but the elections were not held in Serbia. There is no doubt that your nomination was aided by a shameless soliciting of the votes of certain members of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] leadership who are close to Milosevic.

[Martic] Babic's prediction was that the opposition would win in Serbia, and he gave verbal support to the opposition several times before the elections. That is normal. However, this is why he could not expect the support of the authorities in Serbia. In fact, both of us received the support of those who saw the similarity between their political programs and ours.

[Paripovic] What condition is the economy of the "Krajina" in, and what is the social situation of its citizens? There is talk of the economy and the citizens being exhausted, of poverty.

[Martic] It is understandable that the economic situation in the state, after several years of war, is difficult. At the same time, we are waging a war, building the state institutions, and trying to revive the industrial and agricultural production. However, the situation is not nearly what it is believed to be.

[Paripovic] Goran Hadzic, your predecessor, has again raised the issue of the justifiability of the unification of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem with the so-called Knin Krajina, adding that it was a formal unification, and he has asked how justifiable it was to send aid to Knin "when there is no one there who is not too lazy to unload it." Could you comment on that?

[Martic] I am not familiar with these statements by Goran Hadzic, but I think that they are not important. He is the former president of the state, who, I deeply believe, was not suited for the job he was entrusted with. I really do not want to comment on his statements, as I do not consider them to have any political importance.

[Paripovic] All right. May I remind you of Jovan Opacic's statement, according to which Serbia "is making a colony out of Krajina," which Opacic called creating an "Indian reservation," and Serbia's attitude an "anti-Serb act"?

[Martic] The process of the integration of the Serb lands, which has assumed its latest dimensions with the establishment of a unitary monetary system, a unitary market and economy, can certainly not be called by that name. I believe other steps will be taken in the upcoming period, after which the issue of unification will really be sheer formality.

[Paripovic] How do you see the normalization of the relations between Serbia and Croatia, and the signing of the Joint Statement in Geneva? According to certain estimates, this normalization was done "behind Knin's back," while some have interpreted Slobodan Milosevic's statement that the relations between Croatia and the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina should be resolved directly by the negotiators of these two sides as "Belgrade's giving up on the republic of Serbian Krajina."

[Martic] The normalization of the relations between the FRY and Croatia represents quite a normal and logical factor in the context of the strengthening peace initiatives for resolving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. If this normalization contributes to resolving peacefully the conflicts between Krajina and Croatia, that is, through political means, we will welcome it. I see nothing there that could make the position of the republic of Serbian Krajina more difficult, and nothing that could have been done "behind Knin's

back." The statement of the president of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic is in fact a confirmation of our position that only representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia can discuss any disputable issues. In order to establish negotiations, it is necessary for Croatia to stop the constant attacks on the republic of Serbian Krajina, that is, it is necessary to establish a permanent cease-fire.

Demarcation Is the Way to Peace

[Paripovic] According to some political analysts, you are a man who will only carry out, on the side of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina, what is possibly arranged with Mr. Tudjman.

[Martic] We will insist on the negotiations being held on an equal basis and on the principle of reciprocity. I see no reason why such a dialogue should not be established, as I see no way of resolving the disputes in another way. We are prepared to discuss the economic and communication problems of both sides, as well as of the demarcation between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia. I believe that is the best and fastest way of reaching the normalization of relations very soon.

[Paripovic] In your statement: "Martic will exist as long as there is Knin, and Krajina will exist as long as I do" many have recognized the position that war with Croatia is inevitable.

[Martic] Our orientation is peace, not war. We have no reason to attack Croatia if the other side accepts the peace option. However, the experience we have had so far has taught us that there is an extremely militarist atmosphere in Croatia, and that the leading HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] regime thus suppresses the social and political tensions. This is why we have no illusions about the real intentions of the Croatian authorities. We are prepared to convince them that they will not be able to solve a single thing with a war against Krajina, and that sooner or later they will have to sit at the negotiating table with us. Another of Croatia's great delusions is that Germany will do the job for them. All these delusions lead to a long, exhausting war, which will bring neither side any good.

[Paripovic] What is the lower limit in the negotiations and the arrangement of relations with Croatia; how far will your side go?

[Martic] As far as the relations between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia are concerned, I have already said that there was no reason for them not to improve in the future. In fact, we are asking nothing of Croatia. We expect the international community only to give us what it has already given the Croats, Slovenes, and Macedonians, that is, the right to self-determination. We are prepared to hold a referendum in the Krajina, most strictly controlled by the international community, on whether our people want to live in Croatia, and that is the limit below which we will not go.

The United States Has Imposed It

[Paripovic] How do you see the Croat-Muslim agreement?

[Martic] As far as the agreement between the Croats and Muslims in the former Bosnia is concerned, clearly that is something the United States has imposed, and something that is far from reality. That marriage was made out of interest, and I do not believe in it, especially after everything that has happened. As far as possible repercussions are concerned, they are not insignificant, but I do not think they can have a significant impact on the position of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Protocol on Cooperation With Russia Signed

AU0704091794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Mirce Adamcevski: "A Protocol on Cooperation Signed"]

[Text] Moscow, 5 April—In Moscow today, Victor Gaber, under secretary of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], and Vitaliy Churkin, deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, signed a protocol on cooperation between the two ministries.

Among other things, the protocol will promote contacts and consultations between the two ministries in relation to the situations and perspectives in bilateral relations. The protocol establishes that the ministries will also hold consultations within the international organizations and forums on the current international questions of mutual interest. This document gives the possibility for an exchange of experts, organization of seminars, and joint researches, assistance in the cooperation between the archive services of the two countries, and so on.

Macedonia and Russia agreed that the problems in the Balkans should be overcome only through negotiations. These should also provide the framework for the solution of the dispute between Macedonia and Greece. This was emphasized today in the discussions between the delegations of the Macedonian Foreign Ministry and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry. The delegations were headed by Victor Gaber, under secretary in the Macedonian Foreign Ministry, and Vitaliy Churkin, deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation.

In the discussions the Macedonian delegation pointed out that neither threats, preconditions, nor any kind of restriction can serve as a basis for negotiations, and it welcomed Russia's prompt efforts to create a suitable climate for the solution of the open questions in the region.

When asked about the meeting of the two delegations and about Russia's silence in relation to the Greek blockade, Vitaliy Churkin stated the following: "We discussed the Balkans, our bilateral relations, and what more we could do for their promotion. We also discussed the problems you asked about. We must underline that we very actively observe everything that takes place, and not only observe, but also act the way I think is fair and efficient in the given situation."

Political consultations between the two delegations on bilateral relations were also viewed, and were evaluated as very good. In so doing, latent possibilities were emphasized, particularly those on the economic and cultural plane, arising from the transitional period that both countries are in, as well as the promotion of commercial and economic relations on the level of the needs and possibilities of both countries. Plans were also made to regulate relations by reviewing the current ones and then signing new interstate agreements in the economic, health, social, and other fields of cooperation.

Moreover, last night in the Macedonian Embassy in Moscow, Victor Gaber met a group of Macedonian businessmen living and working in Russia. On that occasion they exchanged opinions on the present situation in the Republic of Macedonia and the problems facing the Macedonians working in Russia.

Commentary Questions U.S. Policy

AU0804070894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 7 Apr 94 p 2

[Commentary by S. Jovanovska: "Snail-Like Steps of the White House"]

[Text] "Do we have diplomatic relations with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] or not?" "Who is the U.S. secretary of state, Stephanopoulos or Christopher?" "Who is shaping U.S. policy toward this republic?" "Whose interests is President Clinton protecting?" These are almost unavoidable questions at present briefings in the State Department, threatening to make our small country a big subject for discussion. The whole U.S. press has numbered the "Macedonian question" as one of the weak points of President Clinton, even the pro-Democratic THE WASHINGTON POST, which could not keep quiet about the inexplicable—and by U.S. standards timid—attitude of the leader of a superpower, who had the courage to threaten China, North Korea, Japan, and the European Community, while he always has to feel the "pulse" of the Greek lobby whenever Macedonia is mentioned!

Until what point will the establishment of diplomatic relations between Macedonia and the United States go at a "snail's pace" and why did the United States allow itself to be at the tail end of all those who long ago normalized their relations with this state? These are dilemmas in which our republic is most interested, particularly after the appointment two days ago of Victor Comras as chief of the U.S. liaison office, because whichever way we try to understand and interpret it, it still is not an embassy, and it still is not a diplomatic penetration. Although it is difficult to find answers from this distance, judging by what various official and nonofficial sources say, there is a conflict of interests (political) between the State Department and the White House, due to which, as Comras himself stated, the decision on full diplomatic relations is yet to come.

In order to confirm this claim, it is worthwhile making a small recapitulation. Namely, as a result of synchronized recognition by the EEC countries and of stronger pressures by the State Department for recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations with Macedonia, on 9 February the White House announced its decision to approach this action, naming a number of conditions which were positively met in President Kiro Gligorov's

reply. Soon Secretary of State Warren Christopher conveyed an unequivocal message saying that "the United States is interested in maintaining the integrity and stability of Macedonia," explicitly stating that any possible attempts at its destabilization would be met with U.S. countermeasures. In the meantime, Victor Comras was appointed future ambassador to Macedonia. However, nobody knew until yesterday when he would come, and on what position. After all, it seems that the March meeting with the Greek priests and influential Greek Americans, one of whom is a big financier of the Democratic Party and the other an adviser of the President himself, who is doing his best to "conceal the traces" of the "Whitewater" affair, was fatal. The outcome is known—as Senator Frank McKloskey stated publicly, and the White House implemented it tactfully, the United States froze the establishment of diplomatic relations with Macedonia, appointing Matthew Niemitz as special envoy, who was designated to find a solution for the dispute with Greece, something that cannot be solved for two whole years.

Apparently, the new formula of Clinton and Stephanopoulos is to link the establishment of diplomatic relations with the negotiations—with the aim of keeping the question permanently open, and to avoid the inconvenient pressures from the one or the other side, even from the inside, from the State Department, which is still on the "Macedonian line," assessing the prolongation as a great danger for the stability of the region. However, despite the great influence of the Greek lobby (particularly its money and votes), it is difficult to understand that a destructive policy, as is the Greek in this case, can deserve the support of a country which is pledging for democracy and peace, which is subordinating its foreign policy to the state, national, and generally accepted interests. Moreover, all the U.S. efforts to protect Macedonia from the spreading war are undermined by Greece with its embargo and other actions.

The visit of Shalikashvili to Macedonia was obviously the axis of the "equilibrium" which should keep balance between the non- establishment of diplomatic relations and the determination to maintain the statehood of Macedonia, and at the same time it represents an indirect reply to the revealed Greek plans for the creation of a security zone in Macedonia under some more convenient circumstances. However, Macedonia is no more satisfied with indirect support and "slow recognition," especially because it is evident that the "slow pace" is misinterpreted and misused, turned back on the United States as a boomerang, if it really means what it publicly states and if there are no other reasons for the tactics.

For now, the arguments that President Clinton is making cautious diplomatic moves with the aim of maintaining peace are very strong, as well as that U.S.-Macedonian relations are moving upwards, which becomes more evident if we remember his firm stance when he entered the White House more than a year ago. In a way, the statement of spokesman McCurry is another confirmation, according to whom "a number of steps should be taken"—not stating exactly until when and how many. Nonetheless, the disposition in the United States and the growing critics of Clinton's "Macedonian policy" can speed the pace, because with such an internal conflict, with such critics in the press, and with such a freedom-loving public opinion, it is becoming hard to endure.

UN Troops Crossed Yugoslav Border 'by Mistake'

LD0704111894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Skopje, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] command in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] announced today that three UNPROFOR soldiers detained by the Yugoslav Army on Monday entered Federal Republic of Yugoslavia territory by mistake.

A statement said the UNPROFOR members "thought they were on Macedonian territory" and were taken to the Yugoslav border watchtower of Slavujevac "before they realized they were on FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] territory."

The statement says the blue helmets were allowed to return to Macedonia on the same day after several hours of questioning.

UNPROFOR sees this incident as a "minor" one, and believes that its members crossed into Yugoslav territory because of "the confusion over the exact location of the border line."

Crvenkovski Views Problems in Economy

AU0604164894 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 6 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Crvenkovski Meets With Businessmen"]

[Text] Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] businessmen met with Prime Minister Crvenkovski in the Chamber of Commerce yesterday. They discussed the situation and problems in the economy and the enforcing of the government stabilization program in the first three months of the year. They said the situation in the economy was extremely difficult. Some firms' reproduction processes are highly endangered by financial instability. The total production is on a decrease due to high working expenditure and foreign blockade. The decrease is even up to 40 percent in some companies. All this is accompanied with big losses, debts, no current reproduction, considerable unpaid sums by foreign firm, restrictive monetary and interest rate policies, public expenditure, and absence of foreign investments. The situation is most difficult in agriculture, the metallurgy, production of the means of transportation, the textile industry, construction, and trade.

Prime Minister Crvenkovski agreed the situation is alarming and pointed out government's readiness to

react daily to it, but said long-term solutions must be sought. Macedonia must produce high-quality products and find markets for their distribution, Crvenkovski said.

As for the reconstruction of 25 Macedonian firms, Minister Jovan Andov said the World Bank would aid only those with programs which guarantee the firms would work effectively in a market economy after the reconstruction.

Chamber President Dusan Petreski said Macedonia still has no market economy and businessmen must sit down and work out a way out, instead of only criticizing.

Factors in Deteriorating Economy Viewed

AU0804094994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 7 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by V. Cvetkovska: "Losses Amounting to 11.7 Billion Denars"]

[Text] What businessmen constantly warned about last year, and what they constantly feared, became true in practice. Taking into account the latest indicators about the financial outcome of last year's business, expressed in the final economic assessment and summed up in the Balance of Payments Department, last year there was a real economic debacle.

With the continuing fall in industrial production increasing to 13.9 percent last year, all other financial indicators deteriorated. Losses in the economy rapidly increased nine times over, compared to the slowed-down increase in gross profit of approximately 2.5 times. Total expenditures last year exceeded the total income realized by companies by 4.5 percent, because of the high interest rates paid to banks, and the high costs involved in maintaining normal production. Moreover, the liquidity problem greatly deteriorated, because it was unable to obtain payment for one-third of what it produced and sold. Under such working circumstances, burdened by the present blockades to the north and south, increased transport costs for alternative transit, lost markets, and the minimum use of capacities, the economy in 1993 succeeded in realizing a total income of 185.8 billion denars. Nevertheless, expenditures were higher than income, amounting to 194.1 billion denars. Of that, the minimum gross profit was 2.5 billion denars, just 1 percent of the total income. That is why last year's loss beat the record, and at 11.7 billion denars, it also exceeded gross profit by some 9 billion denars.

The Debts Rise

Negative tendencies are also evident in the income share, in that the economy provides less money for economic needs, for what could revive production, particularly for investment. Nevertheless, money for salaries is given away in abundance. The state economy is more pressed by the short-term and long-term loans, its debts are constantly rising, and according to some Chamber of Commerce assessments the economy's debts reached 1.75 billion denars at the end of last year, with a rising trend, thus they reached 2.2 billion denars in January and February this year.

Although the companies' final accounts indicated that last year, compared to the year before, they succeeded in increasing total income to 4.4 percent, their expenditures also rose 4.6 percent, which was more than the realized income. Regarding the structure of total income in the economy, it came mainly from the sale of products, goods, and services (on that basis in 14 percent of cases income was less than in 1992), and what they succeeded in "getting" was mainly from financing, that is, interest rates and positive exchange rates. However, not even that income was sufficient to cover expenses, and one-third of the companies had greater expenses of 11.6 billion denars, while the other two-thirds had only 3.3 billion denars greater income. Thus, the overall account of the economy is for 8.3 billion denars deficit. Several vital economic branches had greater expenses than income, for instance metallurgy, the iron industry, and the textile industry, as well as trade. There are very symptomatic indications in the expenditure structures, that is, the least is spent on materials, energy, spare parts, and small accessories that relate directly to the production process, thus the previous expenses of one-fifth were reduced to only 19 percent. Moreover, the private and social sectors in industry have greater orientation to trade, as something that pays more at this moment. While production expenses decrease, the non- material expenses rise, for instance salaries and interest rates, as well as extraordinary expenses. The bank interest rates are high, and along with the negative exchange rates, they were responsible for removing 21.5 percent of the total income, which exceeds costs for materials. Interest rates have consumed 8 percent of the total income of private, and 25 percent of the state and mixed companies, which is a burden that even the best companies cannot sustain.

Each Third—a Loser

The gross profit in the economy last year, compared to the year before, has literally been halved and has almost disappeared, and loss is more dominant. Gross profit has been calculated as being almost the same in private and state companies, the reason being that the private ones are more efficient, have lower interest rates, but they also give smaller salaries to their workers. The financial experts have calculated that if private owners gave the same salaries as the state ones, they would have no profit at all. To illustrate, if the average salary last year was 3,274 denars, a smaller than average salary was given to 84.2 percent of the employees in the private sector, and 54.8 percent in the state sector.

On the other hand, the economy paid out 20 percent more income than it earned last year, and this uncovered expenditure is due to salaries and the financing of public consumption. That is, last year the money for salaries was 5 percent greater, 2 percent greater for public

consumption, and 4 percent greater for taxes. Half of the money in state companies went on salaries last year, while the private owners spent more money on investment.

Losses reached 11.7 billion denars, with every third company in the state sustaining a loss (over 8,000 companies). Although over 90 percent of the loss-making companies are private, 91 percent of the loss is in the state sector, and the total sum of the loss indicates a more difficult situation than ever in the economy.

PDP Leader Criticizes Census Preparations

AU0804095994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] Aware that the number of Albanians in this former Yugoslav republic is probably greater than suggested by official statistics and now that the government is preparing for new elections, the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] authorities are dragging their feet over the census, which should be carried out under international supervision. Ibadete Hajrullahu has more details:

[Hajrullahu] To settle the controversy about the number of Albanians in Macedonia—which according to Macedonian officials is approximately 21 percent, while according to Albanian politicians is 40 percent, Macedonia agreed under international pressure to carry out a new census because the exact number of Albanians is needed to determine their status in this republic. The date of the census has already been postponed more than once because disputed issues have not yet been resolved. Council of Europe experts have asked that some articles of the Census Law be amended since the Macedonian side did not take into consideration remarks made by the Council of Europe when drafting this bill. On this and other problems, we interviewed the chairman of the Party of Democratic Prosperity, Arber Xhaferri:

The census is about to be carried out. Have the necessary preparations for a real and objective census been concluded, and how is the situation regarding the procurement of personal documents of Albanians for the census?

[Xhaferri] This problem is real and objective. The Macedonian Government is attempting to have the census carried out according to their standards and needs. We, however, are not satisfied with these preparations, which is why we are trying to organize the census ourselves. We have already contacted some experts on statistics and demographic censuses from Kosova and the United States. We intend to maintain our stance. We have our demands and we will not give up.

We are also having a number of difficulties helping people obtain personal documentation. In my opinion, this strategy is aimed against the Albanians or against peoples who should be marginalized in the system. No matter where they are, particularly in the postcommunist states, these peoples are having problems obtaining personal documents and with property.

These difficulties have been fabricated so that a majority of the population will not be able to register.

[Hajrullahu] The coalition government prepared the election laws some time ago. What is your view on this?

[Xhaferri] Even under these election laws, a political result will emerge on the Albanians' political strength. It is anticipated that Albanians should in no way obtain one-third of the deputies in the parliament. If they were able to reach this number, they would become a relevant political factor because they could then oppose any law or constitution that could be introduced in Macedonia. Thus, the weight of their vote would have some political significance.

Meanwhile, with the percentage they occupy in parliament, they cannot influence the polls and the election process. This election law that is approved or proposed has this in mind—the Albanians should in no way obtain one-third of the parliament members.

[Hajrullahu] Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Xhaferri] You are welcome.

DELO: Muslims Preparing Sarajevo Attack

LD0604163494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—The Muslim Army will attack Serb parts of Sarajevo if Gorazde were to fall—DELO claims today, citing sources within the Muslim leadership.

Units of Izetbegovic's army are preparing to attack Grbavica, Vogosca, Ilidza, and other Serb-held districts of Sarajevo. High-ranking Muslim military officials and Izetbegovic's close aides have worked out a plan to attack Serb positions, encouraged by the fact that Serb units have no heavy weaponry in the area. They have been left without artillery and tanks and the Muslim leadership is aware of this, the Slovene daily stresses.

Free Trade Agreement Signed With Hungary

AU0604165294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Hungary and Slovenia signed a free trade zone agreement. Today, in Ljubljana, the document was signed by Dr. Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister for international cooperation, and Dr. Davorin Kracun, minister for economic relations and development. The ministers presented the contents and the significance of this agreement at the news conference. Tomaz Gerden reports:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] Hungary is an important trade partner of Slovenia. The free trade zone agreement will, as of 1 July, abolish two-thirds of customs duties, while the rest will be gradually abolished by 1997, that is to say, by 2001 for the most sensitive articles. In three years' time, the agreement signed today will be reexamined and supplemented, if this proves necessary. Kadar was very pleased with the agreement signed.

The agreement can be assessed from several points of view. In December 1992, Slovenia and Hungary signed a basic agreement on mutual relations. This was followed by several other agreements. Dr. Kadar believes that today's agreement on the formation of a free trade zone merely confirms good relations between two neighborly states.

He touched particularly upon the issue of agriculture, as Hungary exports $20 million worth of agricultural produce and raw materials to Slovenia, which represents a fifth of all Hungarian exports to our country. The agreement signed today will allow a greater competitiveness of this Hungarian produce on the Slovene market. Slovenia and Hungary will continue to cooperate at the regional level within the Alpe-Adria community.

Minister Kadar especially emphasized that such an agreement also means drawing closer to the European integration processes.

Minister Dr. Kracun added here that, regarding integrations, one should not merely wait for the initiatives of the European Union. He assessed the agreement as follows:

[Kracun] The agreement that we signed with the neighboring Hungary today is a very important milestone in the development of bilateral cooperation with Hungary and in Slovene orientation toward European integration. Namely, Slovenia has already signed some free trade zone agreements, however, on this occasion we have for the first time signed one with a neighboring country. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Poll Shows Views on Jansa, Parties, Events

AU0704173994

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene in its 2 April edition on pages 1 and 2 carries a roundup report about the results of an opinion poll about the impeachment of the former Defense Minister Janez Jansa and the political events surrounding this affair. The poll was carried out over telephone by DELO's Stik research group on 31 March and 1 April. As it is reported, out of 1,000 randomly chosen telephone subscribers from all over Slovenia, 789 took part in the poll. The report consists of 6 graphs and an accompanying explanatory text.

The first graph shows replies to the question: "Which of the present parliamentary parties would you vote for if the elections were tomorrow?"

The party that won the most votes is the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS) with 19.3 percent, followed by the Social Democratic Party of Slovenia (SDSS) with 10.3 percent, the Slovene Peoples' Party (SLS) with 7.5 percent, the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKD) with 7.2 percent, the United List of Social Democrats (ZLSD) with 4.7 percent, the Democratic Party with 1.5 percent, the Slovene National Party with 0.8 percent, the Greens of Slovenia with 0.8 percent, and an independent group of deputies of the Slovene National Party with 0.1 percent of votes. Of the pollees, 29.3 percent replied with "I do not know," 9.6 percent would vote for none of these parties, while 8.9 percent would not take part in the voting at all.

The second graph on page 1 shows the opinions as to whether the State Chamber did the right thing in impeaching former defense minister Janez Jansa. To this question 37.1 percent replied affirmatively, 41.9 percent negatively, while 21 percent did not know.

As DELO writes "despite considerable dissatisfaction with the parliamentary decision regarding Janez Jansa, the pollees mostly (54 percent) expect that Jelko Kacin will be a good defense minister." As it is written further "a good half of the pollees is also of the opinion that the departure of Janez Jansa from the post of the defense minister cannot influence adversely the Slovene defense

situation and its independence. A little over 30 percent fear that this could happen."

"However," paper continues, "a staggering 74.4 percent of DELO's pollees believe that the demands of the demonstrators and the State Chamber deputies that the President of the State Milan Kucan accounts for some of his statements and also for his possible involvement in the Smolnikar affair, are perfectly legitimate." As a graph on the page 2 illustrates, 12.8 percent disagreed, while 12.8. percent were undecided on this question.

"Regardless of this," DELO writes on, "more than a half believe that after the Monday events the Smolnikar affair will never be thoroughly investigated."

According to the paper, more than a half (56 percent) find the demands for early elections "nonsensical" while 30 percent approve.

Regarding the demand of some parties that the United List leaves the coalition, 38.3 percent replied negatively, 24.1 percent positively, and 37.6 percent were undecided on the matter.

"Because the three men—Kucan, Drnovsek, and Jansa—in a way symbolize three rival or at least different political orientations, DELO's pollees could also answer to the question of which of the political orientations they supported the most," paper says. As an accompanying graph on page 2 shows, Jansa's political orientation won the most votes—27.5. percent—followed by that of Janez Drnovsek with 24.1 percent, and Milan Kucan with 17.5 percent: 14.4 percent were undecided while 16.5 percent said that they do not support any of the above three.

A separate analysis on page 2 by Aleksander Bratina, which examines correlation between the education of pollees and their choices, shows that "in terms of sex, age, and place of residence (we have classified the pollees according to whether they live in a bigger town, smaller town, or a village, although there is also a possibility of regional classification, which we leave to the marketing experts) there are no significant differences in support for the above three political orientations." As Bratina writes, "there is an important difference only in terms of education. Jansa is favored by those with completed primary and secondary education and a little less by those with higher education. The opposite is the case with Janez Drnovsek, who is supported by the voters with higher education. The support for Kucan is the same as the support for Janez Jansa; however, the latter is currently leading."

Talks on Future Government Coalition Underway

AU0704172794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpt] The negotiating teams of the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD] and the Liberal Democracy [LDS] met this morning. They held an hour of consultations in view of the recent SKD proposal to form a government coalition of two parties, that is, without the United List, while the Social Democrats have already announced their departure from the government.

As it was expected, today's meeting did not produce any concrete decisions about the fate of the future government coalition. After the meeting of the negotiating teams of both parties, we can also expect a meeting of the members of the LDS executive council and the SDK council. The SKD will make the final decision about this next week and definitely before the annual party conference that will take place between 22 and 24 April.

A segment of the party's membership demands departure from the coalition. However, a sober examination shows the great political damage that the party would suffer if it left the coalition at a moment when tangible results in new spheres that will also bring electoral points are in sight.

One, therefore, should not expect any more explicit decisions from the afternoon meeting of the SKD council. [passage omitted]

Federal

Kontic, Russian Delegation Assail UN Sanctions

LD0504194194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 5 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic and a delegation of Russian academicians on Tuesday agreed that U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia are unjust and counterproductive both for Yugoslavia and for stability in the Balkans.

Kontic praised the Russian Federation for its increasingly active role in the efforts aimed at finding a just solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, said a statement released by the Yugoslav Information Ministry.

In May 1992, the U.N. Security Council imposed comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) for its alleged involvement in civil war raging in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina among the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Kontic briefed the Russian delegation—which is headed by Vice President of the Russian Academy of Sciences Nikolay Laverev and which also includes former Soviet premier Nikolay Ryzhkov—about the current political and economic situation in Yugoslavia, especially the results of the economic recovery programme launched earlier this year.

Ryzhkov is president of the Moscow School of Business Management and Administration founded by the Yugoslav company Braca Karic.

The Russian academicians communicated to Kontic the unanimous stand of Russia's leading scientists that the impermissible blockade of Yugoslavia should be ended, and expressed satisfaction at Moscow's more active role in resolving the problems in former Yugoslavia.

The Russian delegation was also received by Serbian Parliament Speaker Dragan Tomic, who expressed appreciation for their support.

Although support from some quarters has come late in the day, it has nevertheless come in time to sober the international community and make it realize that the cruel sanctions against the Yugoslav people should be lifted as soon as possible and never used again against any other nation, said Tomic.

Laverev said this type of contacts helped the world realize the truth about Yugoslavia. "Your plight teaches us caution," he underlined, and added that the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian people, and other factors in Russia were supporting Yugoslavia in its just struggle for independence.

The Russian delegation also had a meeting with the dean of Belgrade University, Professor Dragutin Velickovic, and explored possibilities of cooperation between Belgrade University and Russian scientific institutions.

NATO Accused of Violating UN Charter

LD0704153694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1317 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Pool report]

[Text] Belgrade, April 7 (TANJUG)—The North Atlantic Council ignores the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) plea to the International Court of Justice in The Hague against all NATO member-countries for resorting to ultimatum and threatening to use force in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

TANJUG has learned from reliable sources that when the North Atlantic Council recently met at the level of permanent representatives it held a debate on the F.R.Y. plea for the Hague court to institute proceedings against the NATO member-countries for violating international law by resorting to ultimatum and the threat with the use of force.

The North Atlantic Council on February 9 threated to launch air strikes against Bosnian Serbs and Moslems unless they withdrew or placed under U.N. control their heavy weapons in and around Sarajevo within ten days. The ultimatum was interpreted in the West as applying only to the Bosnian Serb side.

TANJUG has learned from the same sources that a broader discussion about the F.R.Y. plea at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council was prevented by the U.S. representative, who insisted on his government's position that the F.R.Y. plea did not deserve a reply because it was politically motivated. The U.S. representative urged the NATO member-countries not to recognize the Hague court's jurisdiction in the case.

It is set out in NATO circles that the U.S. prevented a substantive debate and avoided a confrontation with the NATO member-countries, such as Greece, who had reservations when decisions concerning military operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina were being taken.

According to the available information, the International Court of Justice is still waiting for replies from the NATO member-countries whom it has asked in writing to let the court know whether they accept the court's jurisdiction in the respective case.

The F.R.Y. on February 18 filed the plea against the NATO member-countries.

The NATO ultimatum and threat to use force were gross violations of Articles 2 and 53 of the U.N. Charter. Article 2 bans the threat with or use of force, and Article 53 enables certain measures to be taken but only on condition they are decided on by the U.N. Security Council.

It is well known that the U.N. Security Council had not taken a decision for the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw their heavy weapons in the Sarajevo area by February 20, and that U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali had

asked NATO only to report to him about whether it was ready possibly to intervene. Neither the Security Council nor the secretary-general had authorized NATO to set ultimatums and threaten with the use of force.

Government Discusses Finances, Foreign Relations

LD0504192994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1808 GMT 5 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 April (TANJUG)—According to a statement by the Federal Ministry of Information, at its session, chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, today the Federal Government examined and adopted the draft law on a foreign currency loan to be raised by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] both at home and abroad to the tune of $300 million to finance its program of transforming monetary system and the strategy of the country's economic recovery. [passage omitted]

Under the draft law, the loan would be paid off over two-year period with a one-year grace period and at the interest rate and other terms as customary on the financial market. The loan will be repaid in 12 equal monthly installments and the loan repayment fund—to equal the amount used up—will be secured by the FRY, or rather the republics. [passage omitted]

At this evening's session the Federal Government considered and approved a document entitled: "FRY Government stances on the initiatives of other states to conclude agreements on friendship and cooperation."

Bearing in mind the changes which have taken place in Europe, globally and in the Balkans, as well as changes in the international position of the FRY, the Federal Government assesses that it is necessary to accept the initiatives of friendly, neighboring countries to conclude general agreements on friendship, good-neighborliness and cooperation in order to strengthen the country's international position and stimulate bilateral and multilateral cooperation. [passage omitted]

The government at the same time approved the Yugoslav draft text of an agreement on friendship and cooperation between the FRY and Romania, the Federal Information Ministry's statement says at the end.

Serbia

Entrepreneurs Called On To Violate Sanctions

AU0704172194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Text] Radoje Djukic, minister for private enterprise in the Serbian Government, attended a joint meeting of the private enterprise council of the Belgrade Economic Chamber, a group of private companies, an executive committee of the association Nova Privreda, as well as other general associations of Belgrade's independent companies. The topic of the meeting was the program of work of the Ministry for Private Enterprise. Vesna Tenjovic reports:

[Begin recording] [Tenjovic] The first task of the Ministry for Private Enterprise will be above all the revision of the taxation laws and the creation of a long-term tax system, Minister Radoje Djukic said. Our goal will be, Djukic emphasized, to reorganize all departments selectively to facilitate work for as many people as possible. The rationalization of the state administration is under way as the economic program also envisages the reconstruction of the state.

Minister Djukic said that three sectors will function within the ministry—a sector for singular, private, and individual enterprise, a sector for development and promotion of this department, and a powerful legal sector.

There are approximately 400,000 private entrepreneurs in Serbia. For this reason we must create a more favorable climate for their work and then the foreign investors will come by themselves.

Promising that the government will persist in the implementation of the economic recovery, by which the economy will after the abolition of sanctions integrate easier into the world economy, Minister Djukic had the following message for the entrepreneurs:

[Djukic] As I have said, until we have dealt with the problem of fundamental and system solutions—decrees and law—in case of excessive situations I am always free for you to call me to resolve them ad hoc. President of the EU entrepreneurial community Mr. (Jeanrou), who was a guest of the Serbian Government, replied when asked by reporters what he would do had he been in Djukic's shoes, that he would call upon all the entrepreneurs to violate sanctions. Therefore, I also call to violate sanctions just as you have done so far. [end recording]

New Moderate Left Political Party Registered

LD0704192294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 7 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The Radical Party of Serbia [Radikalna Stranka Srbije—RSS] is a national party of the moderate left. It will advocate a democratic state in which the Serb states will be united, it was stated at today's promotion of this party in Belgrade.

The RSS, which was officially registered on 29 March this year, elected Zvezdan Babovic its president at the assembly held on 6 April. Four vice presidents and Zoran Stojkovic, the president of the Executive Committee, were also elected on this occasion.

Twenty-six members of the Executive Committee were elected, 21 of them had previously been members of the Serbian Radical Party. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Human Rights Workers Denied Visas

LD0604181394 Stockholm Radio Sweden in English 1615 GMT 6 Apr 94

[Text] Serb officials have refused to let three representatives of Swedish human rights organizations travel to the Kosovo Province of Yugoslavia to check on the status of ethnic Albanians. The visas were denied to representatives from the Swedish Helsinki Committee, the International Commission of Lawyers, and the Association of Swedish Authors and Writers. The three wanted to do research on human rights in Kosovo and a follow-up report on Albanians who have been denied asylum in Sweden and sent back to Kosovo. Meanwhile, 60 Swedish aid workers scheduled to transport food and help build emergency housing in Bosnia are still waiting for visas from Serb authorities. The Swedes were to relieve a group of Swedish convoy workers who returned from Bosnia last week.

Albania Reportedly Training Kosovo Separatists

LD0504192594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 5 Apr 94

[Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, April 5 (TANJUG)—The public prosecutor in Pristina has ordered an investigation of six ethnic Albanians suspected of plotting to set up an ethnic Albanian paramilitary force in Serbia's province of Kosovo-Metohija in order to detach it from Serbia and its parent Yugoslavia and annex it to neighbouring Albania.

The suspects—Fehmi Lestrani, 21, Skelzen Bajrami, 21, Nexhmedinpsadriju, 31, Luan Heta, 23, Beqir Muleci, 38, and Isni Franc—are all in investigative detention.

In the course of 1992 and 1993, the group is suspected of having undergone military training in Albania under the orders of the self- proclaimed government of "the republic of Kosovo." The training included instruction in the use of all sorts of small arms, armoured personnel carriers, tanks and explosive devices and in sabotage.

Many ethnic Albanians from Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] have been trained by Albanian army officers near Elbasan in Albania.

A strong separatist movement has been active for decades in Kosovo-Metohija whose population is mostly ethnic Albanian. The separatists allege human and minority rights violations in an effort to justify their struggle for separation.

The Yugoslav police has irrefutable proof that dozens of ethnic Albanians from the province have undergone military training in Albania, but fears that many more have gone undetected.

In mid-1992, eight ethnic Albanians received prison terms for smuggling into Kosovo-Metohija 74 automatic rifles, 14,000 rounds of ammunition and other military equipment from their training camp near Tirana.

This and the latest case show that ethnic Albanians from Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav republics are being trained in several camps in Albania, that the practice has been going on for years and that such activities have been intensified of late.

Ethnic Albanian separatist leaders have recentty decided to form a 40,000-strong paramilitary force, to help them in their unlawful efforts to set up their own bodies of power throughout the province.

A number of officials of the self-proclaimed defence ministry of "the republic of Kosovo" are soon to stand trial in Pristina.

"Defence Minister" Hajzer Hajzeraj and his lieutenants in Pristina, Podujevo and Lipljan were directly subordinated to Anton Kolaj, vice-president of the leading ethnic Albanian party—the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo—who has fled the province when the circle around him began to tighten.